MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 54, No. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1959

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Annual Subscription to the Magazine $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

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The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 54 SEPTEMBER, 1959 Number 3

SUPPRESSION AND CONTROL OF MARYLAND, 1861-1865;

A STUDY OF FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS DURING CIVIL CONFLICT

By CHARLES B. CLARK

THE political and military leaders of the United States—by thought, word, and action—recognized the great importance of holding Maryland within the Union during the Civil War. While this subject has been considered previously, there is much material, hitherto unpublished, which further clarifies the relationship of Maryland and the national government during that period.

Maryland's geographical position was unique among the states. Consequently, the Union was compelled to take special pains to prevent the State from seceding and to ensure the necessary cooperation from her. Federal-state relations, neither always clear nor smooth in normal times—as we know so well today—assumed

a most unnatural but required pattern during the Civil War. An unusual case study is therefore presented in the American federal system of government.

The study takes into consideration the great concern, the plans, and the various courses of action pursued to compel Maryland's adherence to the Union. Unlike the northern states which on this occasion had no thought of secession, and unlike the southern states which did secede, Maryland was not allowed to make her own decision. It has never been ascertained, nor will it ever be, that Maryland would have seceded. Without question, however, it was a real possibility in the early days of the war and a threat for some time thereafter.

Methods employed to assure Maryland's adherence to the Union included: the application of martial law for certain periods and the consequent presence of military troops, the suspension of the *writ* of *habeas corpus* and the countless arbitrary arrests that followed, the arrest and imprisonment of members of the State legislature and other officials, the suppression of the opposition press, and the control of elections.

The power of arrest was exercised originally by the Department of State alone, then concurrently with the War Department, and finally by the War Department alone. Men were arrested solely upon an order from Washington until Secretary of War Stanton on August 2, 1862, directed all United States marshals and town, city, or district policemen to arrest any persons who discouraged enlistment or indulged in any other alleged disloyal practice. Those arrested were to be tried by military commissions. A few weeks later, on September 26, President Lincoln authorized the appointment of one or more provost-marshals for each state. Their function was to arrest all disloyal persons under a warrant of the Judge-Advocate-General and to inquire into and report all treasonable practises. They were empowered to employ citizens, constables, sheriffs, police officers, and even the nearest military force to assist them. All police officers in Maryland and other states became subordinate to the provost-marshals.[1]

During the early days of excitement and confusion following Lincoln's election, the secession of Southern states, and the first

[1] A. H. Carpenter, "Military Government of Southern Territories, 1861-1865," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1900*, I, 471-474.

conflict of arms, Maryland was a virtual tinder box. The painful and sometimes wavering efforts of Governor Thomas H. Hicks to hold Maryland loyal to the Union did little to assure the same. There was little, if any, order until May 13, 1861, when General Butler, without orders, occupied Baltimore with approximately 1000 men and proclaimed martial law. President Lincoln had already given General Scott authority to suspend the *writ of habeas corpus* at his discretion along any military line between Washington and Philadelphia.[2] Arbitrary arrests by the hundreds now became the order of the day.[3] Political prisoners became so numerous by February, 1862 that Lincoln commissioned General John A. Dix, then commander of the Maryland Department, and Judge Edwards Pierrepont of New York to investigate the cases and to recommend the release of prisoners whenever deemed safe.[4]

General Butler's occupation of Baltimore was scored by General Scott who wired: "Your hazardous occupation . . . was made without my knowledge, and of course without my approbation. It is a God-send that it was without conflict of arms."[5] Butler, however, claimed he had proceeded on the basis of "verbal directions, received from the War Department" on May 12.[6] He asserted that his troops had been warmly received. To Baltimoreans, Butler explained that his purpose was to enforce "respect and obedience to the laws, as well of the state—if requested thereto by the civil authorities—as of the United States laws." He would not interfere with loyal men or private property unless

[2] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Series 1, II, 601-602, hereafter cited *O. R.*

[3] A. H. Carpenter, *op. cit.; Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, I (1861), 361. The *Baltimore Clipper*, June 1, 1861, reported the arrest of ex-Governor Thomas G. Pratt for treason. This was the first of several arrests for him. Forty-one of the 175 persons confined in Fort Lafayette between July and October 1861, were Maryland judges, legislators, editors.

[4] Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix* (New York, 1833), II, 43.

[5] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 28.

[6] *Ibid.*, Series 1, II, 29-30. Butler, in command of a detachment of Massachusetts volunteers, had landed at Annapolis by water from Perryville in order to avoid Baltimore (the route through which Marylanders had closed). On May 5, on orders of General Scott, he left Annapolis with two regiments for Relay which, with surrounding country, he put under military control. It was from here that he proceeded to occupy Baltimore on May 13, 1861. *Ibid.*, 620; *New York World*, May 6, 1861; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, I, "Diary," 58.

used to render aid and comfort to those in rebellion. All shipments of articles to the Confederacy were forbidden and the exhibition of a "flag, banner, ensign, or device of the so-called Confederate States, or any of them . . . [would] be deemed and taken to be evidence of a design to afford aid and comfort to the enemies of the country." Butler warned that even though he had occupied Baltimore with "scarcely more than an ordinary guard," he was backed by "many thousand troops in the immediate neighborhood, which might at once be concentrated here." He promised to punish his troops if they conducted themselves improperly among the civilian population.[7]

Once in control, Butler lost no time seizing arms, including 40 minie rifles and 2700 others, and all "manufactories" of arms, supplies, and munitions which were furnishing the South. No aid was forthcoming from city officials in this activity, however, for Butler reported to General Scott that the Mayor, George William Brown, "did not consider it the duty of the city authorities actively to cooperate in preventing the forwarding of arms and munitions of war to the rebels." [8] Otherwise Butler seemed to have won the respect of the people of the City by assuring them his presence would not interrupt business but would protect the people, preserve the peace, and sustain the laws.[9] General Scott, however, was aggravated anew by Butler's brazenness and wired him on May 15 to "Issue no more proclamations." [10] On the same day he relieved Butler from his command and replaced him with Brevet-Major General George Cadwalader who thereby became commander of the Department of Annapolis.[11] Calwalader's orders reflected the concern of Federal officials over Maryland:

> Herewith you will receive a power to arrest persons under certain circumstances, and to hold them prisoners though they should be demanded by writs of habeas corpus.
>
> This is a high and delicate trust, and as you cannot fail to perceive,

[7] The proclamation was issued from "Federal Hill." *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 30-32. Butler had occupied Baltimore with 500 men of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, 450 men of the Eighth New York Regiment, and a "section of Cook's Battery." *Ibid.*, 29-30.

[8] *Ibid.*, 29-30.

[9] *New York Commercial Advertiser*, May 15, 1861; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, I, Documents, 244-245.

[10] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 28.

[11] *Ibid.*, 638-639.

to be executed with judgment and discretion. Nevertheless, in times of civil strife, errors, if any, should be on the side of the safety of the country. This is the language of the General-in-Chief himself.[12]

Cadwalader was also told he might parole Ross Winans, arrested as a secessionist by General Butler, provided he took a prescribed oath.[13] Winans was something of an inventive and industrial genius who had amassed a fortune of fifteen million dollars. He built locomotives for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and his Baltimore railway shops were the largest in America. Now, at 65, he was a secessionist member of the Maryland House of Delegates. At his own expense he had manufactured over 4,000 steel pikes to be used against northern abolitionists. He had also manufactured the Winans steam gun, a cannon mounted on a four-wheel steam propelled carriage equipped with a bullet-proof cone to protect the cannoneers. It was calculated to mow down infantrymen like a scythe. The first of these guns was sent to Harper's Ferry by Winans for Confederate use, but it was seized by the Federals and found to be impractical.[14]

The Department of Annapolis, with headquarters now located in Baltimore at Fort McHenry, included " the country for twenty miles on each side of the railroad from Annapolis to the City of Washington as far as Bladensburg." [15] Cadwalader notified Washington headquarters that unless the enemy advanced upon Baltimore, one or two regiments should suffice for his command.[16]

General Cadwalader's command in Baltimore was also brief, but long enough for him to become a principal in the famed Merryman case.[17] He refused to obey a *writ of habeas corpus* issued by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney for the relief of John Merryman who had been imprisoned at Fort McHenry for seces-

[12] *Ibid.*, 639. Dated May 16, 1861.

[13] *Ibid.*, 28-30, 639. The prescribed oath was " I solemnly give my parole of honor that I will not openly or covertly commit any act of hostility against the Government of the United States pending existing troubles or hostilities between the said Government and the Southern seceded States, or any of them." Winans took the oath and was released.

[14] Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (4 vols.; New York, 1939), I, 275-276.

[15] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 607-648.

[16] *Ibid.*, 639-640.

[17] 17 Fed. Case No. 9487 (1861).

sionist activities. Cadwalader was replaced by General Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts on June 11, 1861.[18]

General Banks stepped up arrests and Baltimore was brought fully under military control. Two days after he took command, special elections were conducted to choose members of Congress. There was much fear that military personnel would interfere. General Banks notified Mayor George William Brown that troops had been restricted from entering the City except on his orders unless they were legitimate Maryland voters certified by the Mayor before Banks' arrival. Banks also asserted that the City police would be held accountable if disorder or anarchy resulted from the election.[19] In this election, however, there was no trouble. Banks wrote to Secretary Cameron that the election had "passed without disorder." But he added that this was "not a just indication of the spirit of the city. Active demonstrations on the part of secessionists can only be suppressed by constant readiness of our forces. We need greatly some assistance here." Banks asked for authority to establish a home guard and also sought a "corps of cavalry to suppress the contraband trade on the back roads leading southward." The infantry could "well command the railways." Banks closed this communication by suggesting that "Baltimore would afford most excellent camps of instruction for raw troops. . . ." [20]

General Banks soon found it expedient to concentrate additional troops in the vicinity of Baltimore, since they would exercise "an important moral effect upon the disaffected inhabitants of the city," and also enable him to send units more quickly to Washington when needed.[21]

Withal, the population was very troublesome to General Banks. Opposition to the Federal Government and its troops took strange forms. For example, General Scott requested that Banks station troops at the railroad depot to assure that troops arriving from the North "be duly supplied with water." Scott had heard on "several occasions" that "police and others have interfered to prevent friendly persons from furnishing them with water. . . .

[18] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 675.
[19] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 681. Communication dated June 13, 1861, the day of the election.
[20] *Ibid.*, 690. Dated June 16, 1861.
[21] *Ibid.*, 699.

Two worthy Quakers, named William Robinson and James D. Graham, have, it seems, been threatened with violence for no other cause than this." [22]

There was a third quick turnover in the command as General John Adams Dix was ordered to Baltimore to replace General Banks on July 23, 1861.[23] The department was renamed the Department of Maryland, with headquarters remaining at Fort McHenry.

It was under General Dix and his successors, General John E. Wool and General Robert C. Schenck, that Maryland received the full impact of Federal control and suppression. Whatever rights Maryland possessed or claimed, and regardless of her complaints, the Federal Government considered it of paramount importance that the State be held within the Union. Methods of attaining this objective were generally secondary to the end.

On the very first evening of his command, General Dix received a communication from the Secretary of War concerning the "Winans arms," apparently a secret cache of unidentified arms manufactured or otherwise made available by Ross Winans. In his reply to Cameron the following day, Dix stated he had conferred with General Banks who "doubts the facts stated." Since the arms were allegedly secreted in a nunnery, it was Banks' belief that "a search would excite a great deal of feeling among the Roman Catholics." Nevertheless, Dix had "sent for a special agent of the police, and directed him to station policemen by night and day near the only two nunneries, as he [Banks] thinks, in the city, and to keep them under constant supervision." If the nunneries were entered by an unusual number of persons, or an attempt made to move the arms if they were secreted as reported, "the whole police force, aided by the military, will be called out. . . . In the meantime, if any circumstances occur to confirm suspicions, I will not hesitate a moment to institute a thorough examination of the premises." [24]

General Dix lost no time in asserting his authority. His son, who spent some time with him at Fort McHenry, wrote that at the time "Maryland was substantially the military base of operations

[22] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 724. Dated June 25, 1861.
[23] *Ibid.*, 759. For Dix, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 326.
[24] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 761.

on the Potomac. The loss of Baltimore would have been the loss of Maryland; the loss of Maryland would have been the loss of the national capital, and perhaps, if not probably, the loss of the Union cause." [25] Authorized by Cameron to organize and equip a regiment of home guards of 850 picked men,[26] as requested earlier by General Banks, Dix felt more secure in pursuing his objectives and tightened his control over Baltimore and environs. Later, looking back upon this period, Dix justified his rigid methods, stating

> There is no city in the Union in which domestic disturbances have been more frequent or carried to more fatal extremes, from 1812 to the present day. Although the great body of the people are eminently distinguished for their moral virtues, Baltimore has always contained a mass of inflammable material, which ignites on the slightest provocation. A city so prone to burst out into flame, and thus become dangerous to its neighbors, should be controlled by the strong arm of the government whenever these paroxysms of excitement occur.[27]

One of Dix's first orders was to follow up the earlier directive of General Butler forbidding the display of Confederate colors. Reaction to this was clear and unmistakable, as evidenced by a broadside appearing on September 4, 1861, entitled "General Dix's Proclamation." It read:

> It is said that all mint candy and barber poles of that color were forbidden, and that all persons having red hair and moustaches, or whiskers, are hereby warned to have one or the other dyed blue. No sunrises or sunsets which exhibit such combinations will be permitted on pain of suppression. Persons are forbidden to drink red and white wine alternately. His Majesty (Abraham 1st) is however graciously pleased to make an exception in favor of red noses, these last being greatly in vogue among Federal officers . . .
>
> Done at Baltimore Bastile (Fort McHenry) this 4th day of September the 1st year of Abraham's glorious and peaceful reign.
>
> Signed: John L. [sic] Dix, Major-General [28]

Dix's order also inspired a song, "Dix's Manifesto," which, sung to the tune of "Dearest Moe," ran

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[25] Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix*, II, 24.
[26] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 765.
[27] Morgan Dix, *op. cit.*, II, 36.
[28] Raphael Semmes, "Vignettes of Maryland History," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XL, No. 1 (March, 1945), 51.

On Barber's pole, and mint stick
He did his veto place
He swore that in his city
He'd red and white erase.[29]

And Dix was getting results! On September 4, 1861, he informed General McClellan that no secession flag had been exhibited in Baltimore for many weeks, except for a small paper flag displayed by a child from an upper window. Rebel envelopes and music in shop windows were also forbidden.[30]

General Dix had a difficult task in Maryland and his work branched into many areas. Primarily his mission was to keep the peace and prevent secessionist activities. To achieve these ends it was necessary to arrest prominent agitators and any others considered dangerous, prevent demonstrations, maintain an adequate force and sufficient arms, bolster the fortifications, and suppress the disloyal journals and newspapers. He was concerned with maintaining adequate forces in his department and informed the War Department on July 24 that he would be depleted of troops when their service expired in early August.[31] He therefore recommended that at least 10,000 men be furnished the Baltimore and Annapolis areas.

The War Department recognized the urgency of Dix's requests and, by August, two companies of cavalry had been sent. As for arms, Dix requested on August 7 that sabers and pistols be sent to augment the Hall's carbines (without slings) which were already on hand.[32] Frequently Dix was compelled to dispatch troops and equipment to trouble areas, such as the counties of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, and to Northern Virginia,[33] depleting his own units. He was never able to relax close vigilance in his own command. On one occasion he wrote to Secretary of War Stanton:

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[29] Raphael Semmes, "Civil War Song Sheets," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII, No. 3 (September, 1943), 210.

[30] *O. R.*, Series 2, I, 591.

[31] Morgan Dix, *Op. cit.*, II, 25; *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 759-760. Listed are the units at that time in Baltimore, their commanders, and their enlistment expiration dates.

[32] *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 556.

[33] *Ibid.*, Series 1, XII, Part 3, 222. Help was asked for General Banks, now (May 24, 1862) at Front Royal, Virginia, and under attack. Reinforcements also went to Harper's Ferry from Baltimore, *Ibid.*, 239-240, 253, 304-305; *Ibid.*, Series 1, LI, Part 1, 426-427.

You may have heard that there has been some disturbance here yesterday and today. It is, I think, now over. It did not amount to a riot. It was a crusade of the Union men against the secessionists. The military has been under arms, and I could have cleared the streets at any moment. I have all the powers I need, and shall use them if the proper time comes.[34]

The demonstrations Dix referred to were also reported due to the dissatisfaction of Maryland Unionists with Federal handling of Southern sympathizers, a matter they felt capable of handling.[35]

The necessity of providing adequate fortifications was soon apparent to General Dix. Although the military units occupied high ground, only the regiment within Fort McHenry was covered by defensive works. Dix proposed that Federal Hill be fortified since it commanded Fort McHenry and every other eminence from which the Fort could be assailed. Also, he said, it overlooked a part of the City " rank with secession." [36]

Fort McHenry was in fact extremely crowded with prisoners and not well defended. Only by assuming a bold air and mounting dummy cannon (logs of wood) on the walls was the Fort's Commander, Colonel Morris, able to hold the secessionists until he was supplied with troops and artillery.[37] Shortly after his arrival in Baltimore, General Dix reported to Washington his estimate of the strength at Fort McHenry:

I am not quite satisfied with Fort McHenry. It is very strong on the water side, but, like most of our harbor fortifications, was constructed with no special reference to attack by land. The approach from Baltimore is faced by a curtain, which was only designed for infantry. Major Morris . . . has placed some mortars behind it, but there is no room for cannon. . . . If the suggestions I have made are carried out, I think . . . Baltimore can be controlled under any circumstances.[38]

On August 16, General Dix, accompanied by Colonel G. W. Cullum of Washington headquarters, made a hasty reconnaissance

[34] May 26, 1862, *Ibid.*, Series 1, XII, Part 3, 253.
[35] *Maryland News Sheet*, May 30, 1862; *Washington (D. C.) National Republican*, May 29, 1862.
[36] *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 558-559. After Dix left Baltimore, he wrote a letter on September 15, 1862 to H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief, from Fort Monroe reemphasizing the importance of Federal Hill and estimating the amount of work necessary to complete efforts he had begun to fortify it adequately. Morgan Dix, *Op. cit.*, II, 36.
[37] *Ibid.*, 26; *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 559.
[38] *Ibid.*, dated August 12, 1861.

of Baltimore's " eminences " with the view of having them fortified. The following day he sent Colonel Cullum a memorandum and map covering the results of their joint inspection.[39] Dix listed and described the " eminences " in Baltimore:

1. FEDERAL HILL—(83 feet, 6 inches above mean high tide): Next to Fort McHenry it is the most important position in the harbor of Baltimore. It commands the railroad through Pratt Street [about 800 yards away] to the President Street depot, the entire basin, the whole lower part of the city, and in the hands of an enemy might be dangerous to Fort McHenry, from which it is two miles distant.

2. PATTERSON'S PARK—(124 feet, 9 inches above mean high tide): A commanding position two miles from Fort McHenry, [it] would be very important if No. 3 (Potter's Race Course) were not to be fortified. It is surrounded by a loyal population, and its present occupation is not as necessary as that of No. 4 (the McKim mansion). The Sixth Wisconsin Regiment was encamped here, until recently ordered to Washington.

3. POTTER'S RACE COURSE—(180 feet above mean high tide): A strong work on this height is indispensable to the safety of Fort McHenry, which it commands, and from which it is less than two miles distant. It also commands Patterson's Park, and is the only point, with the exception of the latter and No. 4, from which the eighth ward, one of the most disloyal in the city, can be assailed. It is to be immediately fortified by order of the General-in-Chief.

4. MCKIM'S MANSION—(119 feet, 9 inches above mean high tide): It is in the eighth ward, and commands that portion of the city as effectually as Federal Hill commands the lower portion and the basin. For controlling the population of the city and suppressing outbreaks this position is second only to the latter. It was occupied by the Fifth Wisconsin Regiment until the 7th [August], when that regiment was ordered to Washington. If I had a regiment to spare I would place it here in preference to Patterson's Park. It has excellent and ample ground for battalion drill.

5. STEUART'S MANSION, MOUNT CLARE—(184 feet, 7 inches above mean high tide): This position is important from its vicinity to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Mount Clare depot on that road, as well as from the relation it holds to the direction from which the city is most likely to be assailed from without.

Fortifications eventually constructed on Federal Hill and Murray Hill formed an equilateral triangle with Fort McHenry, all bearing upon and supporting each other, and placing the entire city at

[39] *Ibid.*, 565-566. Cullum was an Aide-de-Camp at Headquarters.

their mercy. Federal Hill was transformed into a scientifically constructed and formidable fortification, covering two-and-a-half acres and armed with columbiads commanding approximately three-fourths of the City.[40]

Forces in Baltimore under General Dix in the late summer of 1861 were assigned as follows: [41]

FORT MCHENRY: Inside—Regulars, 194; outside—Third New York Volunteers, 795; Twenty-First Indiana Volunteers, 845. Total, 1,834.

FEDERAL HILL: Fifth New York Volunteers under Colonel Duryea, a total of 1,028.

MOUNT CLARE: Fourth Pennsylvania, 823; Second Maryland Regiment, 579; Nims' Light Artillery, 156. Total, 1,558.

AGRICULTURAL GROUND (north of City): Two companies of Pennsylvania Cavalry, unequipped, 213.

GRAND TOTAL—4,633.

Of these 4,633 troops, Dix considered less than 4,000 effective. He needed three additional regiments, one for work on the proposed entrenchments at Potter's Race Course, a second to be located at McKim's Mansion for surveillance of the eighth ward, and the third to be installed at Patterson's Park until Potter's Race Course was fortified.

The Home Guard was being organized in the City and Dix felt it could be armed within a week. "It will number 850 men. We have nothing for them but flintlock muskets or Hall's breech-loading rifles, also with flint locks. With this force I should feel safe except from external attack. In case of an advance from the Potomac we should need to be strengthened in some proportion to the number of our assailants." [42]

General Dix, of course, was responsible for the defense of the entire "Maryland Department" and not just the immediate area of Baltimore. On August 19 he submitted a report to General McClellan, stating that his troops were "scattered not only by regiments, but by companies, over a large surface," and that his

[40] Morgan Dix, *op. cit.*, II, 26.

[41] *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 566-567.

[42] *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 566-567. An advance from the Potomac was more than a possibility. McClellan wrote on August 18, 1861: "Information received from General Banks today confirms the belief that the enemy intends crossing the Potomac . . . and moving on Baltimore or Washington." *Ibid.*, 567.

" returns " were for the most part as of August 16. He systematically placed his units by location and size: [43]

1. ANNAPOLIS: Defended by the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, with six companies at Annapolis headquarters and four more at Annapolis Junction, with detachments from both stations guarding the intermediate bridges and cross roads. " Contraband goods are carried across this line to the lower counties on the Western Shore of Maryland bordering on the Potomac, and sent into Virginia at Mathias Point and other places. To watch it effectively five more companies are needed; a regiment would be better."

2. THE RELAY HOUSE: This point, nine miles from Baltimore at the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Washington Branch, was protected by the Fourth Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers. Units were assigned in all directions, all within the range of nine miles from the headquarters of the regiment. One company was placed between the Relay House and Annapolis Junction.

3. PHILADELPHIA, WILMINGTON, AND BALTIMORE RAILROAD: Defended by the Fourth Regiment of the New York Volunteers, with Headquarters at Havre de Grace and with units centered at Perryville, Perrymansville, Bush River, Gunpowder River, and at Back River.

4. NORTHERN CENTRAL RAILROAD: Defended by the Twentieth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, with headquarters near Cockeysville. Units were scattered at Pikesville Arsenal, with six companies along the railroad line in detachments, guarding some sixty-five bridges and culverts in Maryland and a few across the Pennsylvania line.

The remaining regiments and corps in Maryland were reported " all in and around Baltimore." The New York Third and the Indiana Twenty-first, outside of Fort McHenry, were subject to numerous calls for detached service, such as protecting powderhouses, or steamers " engaged in the transportation of supplies between Baltimore and Washington," or training artillerists who could relieve the " less than 200 artillerists in Fort McHenry to man 72 guns." Fort Delaware had a garrison of less than 50 artillerists and needed reinforcement by another company, Dix noted. Some regiments were instructed only in " the school of the soldier and the company " and not of the battalion. The Third and Fourth Regiments of New York Volunteers were " greatly demoralized. I [Dix] had serious difficulty with the former a few days ago; but by prompt and rigorous measures the insubordina-

[43] *Ibid.*, Series 1, V, 569-571.

tion was quelled." Commenting upon the City of Baltimore, Dix said is was safe for the moment " even with my present inadequate force; but if the Confederates should cross the Potomac into Maryland, it would need to be doubled in order to secure us against an outbreak on the part of the disloyal population. I have never put my estimate of the troops required in and around Baltimore at less than 7,000." [44]

Maryland's Governor, Thomas H. Hicks, was for the most part cooperative with the Federal Government during this period, although at times not certain of his own views and position. He gave support to General Dix in making arrests of those suspected of aiding the Confederacy. He agreed that the Eastern Shore be cut off from communication with the South by stationing soldiers there and also by arming local Union men. Upon his suggestion, all military companies on the Eastern Shore suspected of disloyalty were promptly disarmed.[45]

The arrest of citizens of Maryland without due civil process continued on a large scale throughout 1862. Meetings were suspended, documents seized, and persons rushed off to imprisonment in the Federal forts upon the slightest suspicion of sympathy with the South. Normally not deterred long, they were often arrested a second or third time.

The spectacular arrest of Judge Richard Bennett Carmichael [46] on May 28, 1862, as he presided over the Circuit Court at Easton aroused great interest and excitement. The Deputy Provost-Marshal, James T. McPhail, with a small military force was directed by Dix to proceed by steamer to the Eastern Shore to make the arrest. Warned upon his arrival that an armed force of at least 100 men would resist them, McPhail telegraphed for additional men and Dix immediately sent 125. When his court was entered, Judge Carmichael asked upon what authority his arrest was made. When informed by the authority of the United States Government he asserted it was not sufficient under the

[44] *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 569-571. Dix was serving now under General McClellan whose command had been extended over Maryland. *Ibid.*, 568; *Ibid.*, Series 2, I, 590.

[45] *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 609. See also 572, 581, 616, 620. A military company at Westminster was also disarmed.

[46] 1807-1884; member of Congress, 1833-1835; judge of circuit court of Talbot, Queen Anne's and Kent Counties, Maryland; president of Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1867; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1774-1949 (Washington, 1950), 949; *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX, 26.

circumstances of the case. Whereupon, an officer attempted to seize Carmichael forcibly and was kicked. The Judge was then struck over the head several times with a revolver and dragged out a prisoner. The greatest confusion prevailed. Judge Carmichael was taken to Baltimore and interned in Fort McHenry.[47]

This arrest took place seven months after Secretary Seward expressed the opinion to Dix that " that functionary [Carmichael] should be arrested even in his court if need be and sent to Fort Lafayette. You may proceed accordingly." [48] General Dix had taken no action at the time. Three months before the arrest he wrote to Governor Bradford that Carmichael was one of the " prime movers of disaffection and disloyalty on the Eastern Shore of Maryland," having signed and published a " treasonable memorial " that was sent to the State legislature. His actions as a judge were indefensible to Dix; his charges to the grand juries in his court had been " inflammatory " and " insulting to the Federal Government." He had instructed juries to " find bills against all persons who had given information on which arrests had been made " by the United States Government. Even Brigadier General Henry H. Lockwood, whose conduct had been " marked by the most prudent and discreet forbearance " in executing Dix's orders on the Eastern Shore, had been subjected to the " indignity of an indictment." Also, Carmichael had hindered Federal authorities, said Dix, in their attempt to stamp out disloyalty. He was a " dishonor to the bench " and to the " loyal State of Maryland," and his arrest had not been ordered earlier only because of " advice of gentlemen from the Eastern Shore; but I believe the feeling is now nearly unanimous that his disloyal and vindictive conduct has been endured too long." [49]

The arrest of Judge Carmichael drove many Marylanders to intense antagonism toward the Federal Government. George

[47] See *Baltimore American*, May 29, 1862 for this account. Carmichael was taken to Fort Lafayette in New York Harbor on July 9. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1862. See account in *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, Jan. 29, 1863, reprinted from the *New York Freemen's Journal* and written by " Pilgrim," a prisoner and cellmate of Carmichael's at Fort McHenry. He relates that Carmichael was badly mauled when he arrived from Easton, with blood covering his head. Officers abused him, boasting of their brazenness in arresting a judge while on the bench, said " Pilgrim."

[48] *O. R.*, Series 2, II, 85. Seward referred to a letter he had received from J. Hopkins Tarr of Denton, " relative to Judge R. B. Carmichael, of that quarter."

[49] Dix to Bradford, Feb. 10, 1862, *O. R.*, Series 2, II, 213.

Vickers of Chestertown wrote Bradford that while he did not at the time question the cause of the arrest, he felt that the "*time, place*, and *manner* constitute[d] an outrage which calls for redress." [50] Unless the Judge should be released at once, said Vickers, "the Union party will not be able to hang together." In his opinion the prestige of the State judiciary had been damaged by those "who do not seem to know how to distinguish between a Bar room and a court—a rowdy and a gentleman." The Governor replied to Vickers that he agreed with his sentiments but felt that if the reports of Carmichael's disloyalty were true his arrest was justified. Bradford did not himself think they were true and advised Vickers to send any available testimony in support of Carmichael to General John E. Wool, who replaced General Dix on June 1.[51] Bradford proceeded to write General Wool, stating that the time of the arrest of Carmichael was "most unseasonably chosen." He feared the effect of the arrest upon the loyal sentiment of the community as well as upon the dignity of the bench.[52]

Unquestionably the time, place, and manner of the arrest were poorly chosen. However, Carmichael's arrest seems to have been fully justified from the Federal Government's position. His statements, especially associated with his position, were not only unbecoming to a judge but inimical to the interests of the United States. A letter Carmichael wrote to United States Senator James Alfred Pearce, of Chestertown, on July 23, 1861, clearly indicates his position on the war:

> For God's sake do without a moment's delay, make your speech denouncing this unholy war, and the unconstitutional proceedings with which it has been gotten up, and conducted. Do it for your friends, for your State, and for your Country, and for your self. . . . I pray you, gird up your loins, brace up your health to the tension of your heart, and let us feel that 'Richard is himself again.' [53]

Judge Carmichael remained imprisoned until Secretary Seward ordered him unconditionally released on December 3, 1862. No trial was ever granted him, nor any charges made against him.[54]

[50] Vickers to Bradford, June 4, 1862. *Executive Letter Book* (Maryland), 304-306. Vickers, a prominent Eastern Shoreman, later became U. S. Senator.
[51] Bradford to Vickers, June 7, 1862. *Ibid.*
[52] Bradford to General John E. Wood, June 9, 1862. *Ibid.*, 306-307.
[53] Bernard C. Steiner, "James Alfred Pearce," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (1924), 26.
[54] *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 30, December 4, 1862.

Among the many difficult problems confronting General Dix was establishing the proper relationship between the Baltimore police organization and the United States military. This was a problem inherited from General Banks. The latter had arrested Police Chief George P. Kane on June 27, 1861, on orders of General Scott [55] who termed Kane the "head of an armed force hostile to its [Government's] authority . . . [who was] acting in concert with its avowed enemies." [56] At the same time, Banks suspended the powers of the police board, made up of Charles Howard, president, William H. Gatchell, John W. Davis, and Charles S. Hinks. Four days later, on July 1, these men were arrested and confined. Their clerk, William McKewen, was also arrested but soon released because of failing health.[57]

Banks reported that when the Police Board was suspended, it improperly declared the police law also suspended. Thus, with the police officers and men off duty, the Police Board intended, he said, to "leave the city without any police protection whatever." [58] The headquarters, "when abandoned . . . resembled in some respects a concealed arsenal." [59]

Following the arrest of Kane, General Banks had appointed Colonel John R. Kenly of the First Maryland Regiment "provost-marshal within and for the city of Baltimore." [60] Kenly found it necessary at once to organize a force of 400 men to replace the inactive police force. To supplement it, "in view of possible occurrencies, and the better to meet contingent action of disloyal persons, rumors of which have reached me," Banks placed a large part of his military force in the city. He promised to withdraw the troops as soon as "the question of the conflicting forces of police can be arranged" and "a loyal citizen can be nominated to the

[55] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 138-139.

[56] *Ibid.*, 140-142. General Banks notified the public by a proclamation.

[57] Between their suspension on June 27 and their arrest on July 1, the Police Board met secretly, but protested openly of their arrest. They persuaded policemen to vacate the station houses and divest themselves of their insignia of office. *Ibid.*, Series 1, II, 139, 141-143, 145; George William Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th of April, 99*; J. T. Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore,* 614-616. The Police Board was imprisoned temporarily at Fort McHenry and then for a year at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor.

[58] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 141.

[59] *Ibid.*, 141-142.

[60] *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 139-140.

office of marshal [police chief] who will execute the police laws impartially and in good faith to the United States." [61]

At his own request, Colonel Kenly was removed from his assignment on July 11 after only a few days in office. Banks stated that he had performed his duties in the "most prompt, faithful, and discreet manner." [62]

The arrest of Kane and the police board raised a furore in Baltimore and Maryland. The board lodged protests with the Maryland legislature and with Congress, while the Mayor and Council of Baltimore also petitioned Congress. Lincoln was requested by Congress to give "the grounds, reason, and evidence upon which the police commissioners of Baltimore were arrested and are now detained as prisoners at Fort McHenry," if in his "judgement not incompatible with the public interest." The President's reply was that to give the necessary information was incompatible with the public interest "at this time." [63]

Upon his arrival in Baltimore, General Dix was confronted with a dispute over the policemen's salaries. Apparently the latter considered themselves in a pay status even though not on duty. Dix ruled that having been suspended in June they should not be paid. Subsequently, the Maryland legislature appointed two police commissioners to manage the police force of Baltimore, effective March 10. But General Dix would not permit them to assume office until the Federal Government had notified them of the withdrawal of the provost-marshal and the police established under its authority. "This may be safely done at once," said Dix in a letter to Stanton, provided a provost-Marshal "and not exceeding 20 policemen are appointed to perform special duties." An appropriation of $15,000 per annum would be necessary to meet the expenses of such a force, including their monthly compensation.[64] Dix asked for authority to proceed in the matter and was instructed that the police force established by the Federal Government was to be placed under the commissioners appointed

[61] *Ibid.*, 140, 142-143. Banks instructed Kenly on June 27, 1861, that the police law was not suspended, just the police board. *Ibid.*

[62] *Ibid.*, 140.

[63] *Ibid.*, 144, 156; *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 37th Congress, 244, 347; *Maryland Pamphlets*, 1861-1863, I, Appendix to Henry May's speeches; *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 152-156. The resolution went to Lincoln from the House of Representatives.

[64] *O. R.*, Series 1, V, 738. Dated March 8, 1862.

by the State legislature. The commissioners were allowed to name their assistants and employed eight detectives on March 29, 1862.[65]

This new force, despite its limitation of size, performed many valuable services in Maryland and for the United States, becoming virtually Federal police. General Dix presented a statement to Congress covering their maintenance at $790 a month but Congress failed to make the appropriation and the force, including Provost-Marshal Dodge and Deputy James T. McPhail, had to be disbanded in July. It had received no compensation.

Baltimore had no Provost-Marshal from August 1 until August 18 when the War Department gave McPhail a commission to serve in that capacity for all Maryland.[66] His service under Dodge had been excellent. He was familiar with the transactions of the preceding eight months and was a natural choice who was greeted warmly by the Unionists of the State. McPhail was now empowered to appoint the necessary deputies in the counties.

General Dix became involved in every major phase of Maryland life. He directed the suppression of the secessionist press in Baltimore and the State,[67] played a vital role in preventing Southern sympathizers from winning the critical elections in November, 1861,[68] and was in command of the Department of Maryland when thirty-one members of the State legislature were arrested and imprisoned.[69] Throughout his stay in Maryland, Dix used

[65] These men were John L. Bishop, Eton Horner, Benjamin B. Hough, James Pryor, Voltaire Randall, George Cassell, William F. Williamson, and Charles Bowers. *Baltimore American*, August 1, 1862. See Dix to Police Commissioners, March 17, 1862. *O.R.*, Series 1, V, 765-766.

[66] *Baltimore American*, August 18, 1862. McPhail and his appointees were apparently paid by Baltimore City, a matter protested by Mayor Brown. The latter had seen to it that the suspended Baltimore police were paid their back salaries. Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th April*, 104.

[67] Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of Baltimore Press during the Civil War," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI, No. 2 (June, 1941), 152 *et seq.*: Morgan Dix, *Op. cit.*, 29-31.

[68] George L. P. Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1901), 116-118; Charles B. Clark, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War* (Chestertown, Maryland, 1952), 61-83.

[69] The arrests were actually made by General Banks. See Radcliffe, *Op. cit.*, 110-118. The fullest account is in the unpublished portion of the author's doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina (Chapter 7, 215-230). See also Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (New York, 1950), I, 544-545; Morris I. Radoff, *The Old Line State: A History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1956), 84-85; *O.R.*, Series 2, I, 619, 748, 613-614, 667-676. Mayor Brown was arrested

his powers of arrest as his main weapon of control. Some arrests were more important and spectacular, but countless others were as serious and alarming to the victims. Fort McHenry was soon bursting at the seams, causing General Dix to write to General McClellan on September 7, 1861:

> What is to be done with them? Every room is full, and we had about fifty prisoners last night in tents on the parade ground with hardly room left for the guard to parade. I understand there is room at Fort Delaware for some 200 prisoners.[70]

But no relief was in sight as every type of offender was hauled in, including seven prisoners of war taken by General Banks and four State prisoners engaged in secreting a balloon in Delaware. Dix renewed his appeal to the Secretary of War, stating that "We now have over twenty confined in one room and cell." [71]

Although many prisoners were sent to Fort Columbus and Fort Lafayette in New York, and Fort Warren in Boston, Fort McHenry and then Fort Delaware had such an overflow that new accommodations had to be found. Dix ordered Captain Gibson, commander at Fort Delaware, to allow no more "pleasure parties" to visit there since an important prisoner had allegedly been smuggled out to freedom. Prisoners might receive letters and gifts only under careful surveillance. Later, in April 1862, Dix directed that delicacies such as fresh butter, preserves, and confectionaries sent the prisoners be diverted to the convalescent.[72]

The charge was made frequently that General Dix was extremely arbitrary in making arrests. In fairness to him it must be stated that even though he had ample powers to make arrests as he saw fit, he gave every evidence of attempting to be reasonable and fair. He directed that no searches be made in private dwellings by the military, nor should any person possessing a shot gun on a "sporting excursion" be bothered.[73] Furthermore, he warned against making arrests without supportable evidence. To Secretary of State Seward he confided on October 5, 1861: "I am

at this time also (September 13, 1861) and not released until November 27, 1862. Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th April*, 104, 108-109. Most of the legislators had been released prior to November, 1862.

[70] *O. R.*, Series 2, I, 593.

[71] *Ibid.*, Series 2, II, 117.

[72] *O. R.*, Series 1, III, 478.

[73] *Ibid.*, Series 2, I, 597.

suspicious of charges against individuals unless they are well supported. Two men were arrested and charged with open acts of hostility only to find . . . [they were] consistent and active Union men." [74] Dix's concern over due process is also borne out by a letter he wrote to a subordinate following his departure from Baltimore. Parts of it are significant enough to reproduce here:

. . . . When Judge Pierrepont and I examined [February, 1862] the cases of political prisoners in . . . custody from Washington to Fort Warren, we found persons arrested by military officers who had been overlooked . . . lying in prison for months without any just cause. For this reason, as well as on general principles of justice and humanity, I must insist that every person arrested shall have a prompt examination, and, if . . . a proper case for imprisonment, that the testimony shall be taken under oath, and the record sent, with the accused, to the officer who is to have the custody of him. This is especially necessary when the commitment is made by a military commission, and the party accused is sent to a distance and placed, like at Fort Wool, under the immediate supervision of the commanding officer of the Department or Army Corps. The only proper exception to the rule is where persons are temporarily detained during military movements, in order that they may not give information to the enemy. . . .

. . . [A] military commission not appointed by the commanding General of the Army or the Army Corps is a mere court of inquiry, and its proceedings can only be regarded in the light of information for the guidance of the officer who institutes it, and on whom the whole responsibility of any action under them must, from the necessity of the case, devolve. . . .[75]

General Dix recognized the hardships enforced upon witnesses who must be held over and urged repeatedly that such persons receive compensation lest their families suffer unduly.[76]

The questions raised by slaves and Negroes plagued Dix. He attempted to avoid any involvement in this connection, understanding the strong feeling among leaders and others in Maryland against injecting these questions into the conflict. The charge was frequently made that Union forces stole slaves or enticed them to run away. When the commander of the revenue cutter *Forward*, assigned the job of breaking up illicit trade from the Severn River to Virginia, captured three runaway slaves they were turned over

[74] *Ibid.*, 599.
[75] Dix to Brigadier-General J. K. S. Mansfield, commanding at Suffolk, Virginia, August 16, 1862, in Morgan Dix, *Op. cit.*, II, 44-46.
[76] *O. R.*, Series 2, II, 387-388.

to civil authorities at Annapolis on orders of General Dix. Later he directed that the slaves be surrendered to their owners, who had arrived in pursuit from Dorchester County, if proof of ownership could be given. His position on slaves was made clear in a directive to a subordinate:

> Clear up any misapprehension in regard to the intention of the government in this way. The mission is to uphold the government against treasonable attempts. We wage no war with individuals. Do not interfere in any manner with persons held in servitude.[77]

At this stage of the war, however, slaves and Negroes as individuals posed only minor problems to General Dix. Later in the war this would be a very serious problem in Maryland.[78]

Among the many arrests made by the military commanders of Maryland, that of the celebrated Colonel Richard Thomas alias Zarvona alias the " French Lady " was probably the most unusual. Disguised as a woman, he went aboard the passenger steamer, *St. Nicholas*, plying between Baltimore and the Potomac, and, with other persons disguised as mechanics, seized the vessel and took it to Virginia. General Banks designated Zarvona's crime as " piracy of the worst form," [79] but General Dix contended that Zarvona was not " indicted for piracy, and had been held under arrest like other prisoners of war." [80] In reality, Dix was not alarmed over Zarvona, stating he was a " crack-brained fellow who can do no mischief beyond his individual capacity, mental and physical, which is constitutionally small." [81]

Appeals came to Dix from all directions for the release of prisoners. In February of 1862 he compiled a list of those he considered too dangerous to release, including George P. Kane, police marshal; Charles Howard, president of the police board; Thomas C. Fitzpatrick and R. H. Rogers, recruiters for the Confederacy; Richard Thomas (Zarvona), the " French Lady "; Frank Howard, editor of the (Baltimore) *Exchange*; T. Parkin Scott, H. M. Warfield, Severn Teackle Wallis, arrested members of the

[77] *O. R.*, Series 2, I, 775. Dix to Colonel Paine of the 4th Wisconsin Volunteers, Nov. 4, 1861.
[78] Clark, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*, 159-201.
[79] *O. R.*, Series 2, II, 390.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid.*, 401.

State legislature considered dangerous and influential; a Dr. Brown, who had planned to enter the Confederate Army as a surgeon; A. W. Habershan, ready to enter the Confederate service; Benjamin Gunther of the Eastern Shore of Virginia, considered "dangerous"; Robert Hall, recently confined by orders of the Secretary of State; Mayor George William Brown of Baltimore, who might, it was feared, resume his duties if released.[82]

General Dix, having served as commander of the Department of Maryland, now referred to as the Middle Department, was transferred on June 1, 1862 to Fort Monroe. He had won many friends and admirers among the Unionists in Baltimore and Maryland while suppressing disloyalty, but there was much difference of opinion even among these supporters over methods employed in making arrests.[83] The case of Judge Carmichael especially riled many.

Having only two hours to prepare for his departure, General Dix was unable to take leave of his command and the people of Baltimore except by a General Order, part of which is produced herewith:

. . . . The Major-General [Dix] commanding cannot forbear, in taking leave of the citizens of Baltimore, among whom his duties have been discharged, to express the grateful sense he will ever retain of the aid and encouragement he has received from those of them who have been true, under all the vicissitudes of a wicked and unnatural contest, to the cause of the Union. The ladies of the Union Relief Association are entitled to a special acknowledgement of his obligations to them. It is believed that the records of the philanthropic devotion do not contain a brighter example of self-sacrificing service than that which is to be found in their own quiet and unobtrusive labors. . . .

It is a source of great gratification to the Major-General commanding that in the eight months during which the municipal police was under his control no act of disorder disturbed the tranquillity of the city, and that the police returns, compared with those of a corresponding period of the previous year, exhibit a very great reduction, in some months as high as fifty percent in the aggregate of misdemeanors and crimes. The police having on the 20th of March last been surrendered to the city authorities, they have since then been responsible for the preservation of the public order.[84]

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[82] *O. R.*, Series 2, V, 739.

[83] High tribute was paid Dix by the *Baltimore American*, June 2, 1862, and the *Baltimore Sun*, June 2, 1862.

[84] General Orders No. 14, June 1, 1862. See Morgan Dix, *op. cit.*, II, 48.

General John E. Wool, successor to General Dix, was a strict disciplinarian recently stationed at Fort Monroe and at Norfolk. Wool was unpopular in Maryland from the beginning. According to the loyal *Baltimore American*, he denounced leading Unionists in Baltimore and the State, including Governor Bradford and ex-Governor Hicks, " whilst those who have never by any public word or deed, showed their sympathy with the government or their detestation of the rebellion—who, in fact, are profuse in their denunciation of every act of the administration, and only have words of compromise and conciliation for traitors," were accepted by Wool as true representatives of Union sentiment within the City.[85] However, Matthew Page Andrews asserted that General Wool had " mitigated the evils of military domination to such an extent that the more vindictive ' patriotic element ' that profited by petty tyrannies, clamored for his removal from office." [86]

At any rate, General Wool inaugurated a new wave of arrests. The newspapers carried daily accounts of apprehensions for alleged disloyalty, treason, or some closely allied cause.[87] The following case is more or less typical: At a large Union meeting in Baltimore on July 28, 1862, a committee was appointed to investigate certain charges of disloyalty and official corruption in the City. Upon presenting its report on October 28, officers and soldiers from General Wool's headquarters made a sudden appearance and seized documents purportedly exposing official corruption. Committee members were arrested, including Thomas H. Gardner, Clerk of the Criminal Court; Colonel Thomas R. Rich, aide-de-camp to Governor Bradford; Alfred Evans and Thomas Sewell. No cause for their arrest was given,[88] and much resentment followed throughout the State. Governor Bradford, who interviewed the prisoners, remonstrated with the arresting officials to no avail.[89] The prisoners, said Governor Bradford in his vigorous protest to President Lincoln, were marched through the streets of Baltimore " as though they were the vilest traitors," placed aboard the steamer *Balloon* at the Light Street Wharf and taken

[85] November 24, 1862.
[86] Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, I, 871-872.
[87] See *Baltimore Republican*, July 31, August 1, 5, 8, 1862.
[88] *Baltimore American*, August 1, 1862; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, II, 561.
[89] *Ibid.*; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 29, 30, 1862.

to Fort Delaware. Bradford called these men as "devotedly loyal as any within the Union," and added that

> Our whole loyal community regard this as the grossest outrage and demand their release, and I on their behalf most respectfully insist that your Excellency will forthwith order the military commander of this department to set them at liberty and to return the papers forcibly seized and taken from them.[90]

After a short confinement at Fort Delaware, the men were released unconditionally, still without explanation for their arrest.

General Wool sought to crush all semblance of Southern sympathy. He ordered the arrest of Charles H. Kerr and Henry McCaffrey, composer and publisher respectively, of music entitled the "Stonewall Quickstep" and dedicated to General Thomas J. Jackson.[91] Unionism was gaining additional strength in Baltimore in the summer of 1862. The *Baltimore American*, with subtle reference to Wool's rigid control of the City, averred that patriotism and loyalty could be even stronger if the Government would "trust the people to a greater degree."[92] A Baltimore correspondent of the *New York World* stated, however, that if Baltimore's inhabitants had their way "the city . . . would be surrendered without a moment's hesitation to a corporal's guard of the enemy."[93] Conflicting evidence as to the true state of affairs was plentiful, but Unionism was in control regardless.

General Wool's unpopularity was so great, and the clamor for his removal so insistent that he was replaced on December 23, 1862 by Major General Robert C. Schenck of Ohio.[94]

Maryland was so relieved to be rid of General Wool that "almost any change . . . would have been hailed with acclamation."[95] The sentiments of General Schenck upon his arrival, plus the estimates of him by the Union press, augured well for

[90] Bradford to Lincoln, October 29, 1862, *O. R.*, Series 2, IV, 663.
[91] July 23, 1862. *Ibid.*, 271.
[92] *Baltimore American*, September 9, 1862.
[93] Quoted in *Baltimore American*, September 10, 1862.
[94] Schenck was a lawyer who served as a Whig Congressman from Ohio, 1843-1851. He was Minister to Brazil 1851-1853. In 1861-1862 he was Brigadier General, of Volunteers in Virginia and West Virginia. He again served in Congress, 1863-1871 after which he was Minister to Great Britain, 1870-1876. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1774-1949 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950), 1782.
[95] *Baltimore American*, December 25, 1862.

the future. He was said to be more than just an improvement and to possess that "needed discrimination and activity in the discharge of his important duties such as cannot but serve to cheer the hearts of all loyal men." He was expected to bring to his new duties "that patriotic, though tempered, zeal needful" in a community so "afflicted with divisions." [96]

Governor Bradford wrote to former Governor Hicks that Schenck was the man for the "time and place" and that he expected Baltimore to be a more loyal city under the new command. An unusually strong man was needed, the Governor said, because the "bitterness of our Baltimore secessionists is from what I see and hear more rancorous than ever. The liberation of the Fort Warren prisoners has set them all no doubt, systematically to work again. They give out their malignity as they pass along the streets and look like muzzled mastiffs waiting only the opportunity to slip the leash." [97]

General Schenck was honored at a banquet given by loyal citizens on January 23, 1863, with Governor Bradford presiding. All seemed pleased with the prospects of Schenck's military rule. But, once he had assumed office, many Marylanders regretted his appointment. They discovered he was not only a military commander, but frequently a bitter political partisan. According to one historian his regime was

> rendered particularly odious by the blustering energy and arbitrary arrests and persecutions instituted by his provost-marshal, William S. Fish. Pictures, colors, songs, and writings that were freely permitted in Boston or New York were rendered treasonable in Baltimore, and the next few months saw a series of arrests for real or alleged petty offenses that would have done credit to autocratic Russia. Military trials and imprisonments were conducted by methods which seemed to be desperately calculated to inflict the greatest amount of humiliation.[98]

Protests of new military outrages came to Governor Bradford from many points in the State. In Harford County grain was

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] Bradford to Hicks, December 29, 1862. *Bradford MSS.*

[98] Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, I, 871-872. John Fulton in *Southern Rights and Union Parties in Maryland Contrasted* (pamphlet), 22, though a partial witness, declared: "The author or agent of these wrongs did not pretend to respect the forms of law, nor did they generally condescend to prefer even informally, any specific charges against those whom they have thus thrust into prison . . ."

seized and a dispute resulted over compensation.[99] From Charles County complaints came that Colonel James R. Swain of Schenck's command had interfered with county police arrangements and induced slaves to escape. Schenck removed Swain from his command for these and other charges and placed that part of Charles County between the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers under Brigadier-General H. H. Lockwood.[100]

Schenck was responsible for many actions regarded as oppressive. John Pendleton Kennedy wrote that " Schenck is producing a terrible flutter of crinoline in the neighborhood, and is regarded as the Danton and Haynau of the age. He even forbids the birds to sing ' My Maryland,' a tyranny which has turned all the crotches into demi-semi-quavers." [101] On March 7, 1863, Schenck issued an order prohibiting the sale of secession music in his Department, and directed publishers to send such music to his headquarters. Four days later the sale of pictures of rebel soldiers and statesmen was forbidden.[102] Lines from a poem, secretly written and published in Maryland, describe the prevailing military control:

> In Maryland we nothing better are,
> Than subjects of the Sultan or the Czar.
> Banished, imprisoned, plundered at a word
> From Aga Stanton, or from Bashaw Seward—
> Dependent on a general's caprice
> For leave to trade or worship God in peace
> Forbid a ribbon or a song to buy
> That vexes a policemen's ear or eye—
> Oppressed and ruined here, disgraced abroad—
> Victims alternately of force and fraud—
> Men only mention now our Country's name
> To tell the Story of her woes and shame.[103]

The ardent Unionists, however, stood solidly behind Schenck.

[99] See letter of Joseph Farnandis of Harford County to Bradford, January 24, 1863, and Bradford's reply, February 5, 1863. *Executive Letter Book*, 365-369. See *Ibid.*, 369-370, 385-386 for similar correspondence.

[100] See correspondence of Bradford and Schenck, and of others to and from Bradford, *Executive Letter Book* (Maryland), 359-361, 364-365, 372-373, 380-382, 386, 375-377. Correspondence dated January and February, 1863.

[101] Quoted by Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871), 314.

[102] Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VI, " Diary," 52-54.

[103] See " Letters from a Maryland Mail Bag," in *Maryland Pamphlets*, 1861-1863, I, 5-7. Dated March, 1863, but no author or publisher listed for the pamphlet.

The City Union Convention passed a resolution in May, 1863, which fully supported his policies.[104] Late in June, General Schenck suspended the Maryland Club, charging that it had generated into a " resort for those disaffected toward the government, hostile to its legally constituted authorities, and who give countenance, encouragement, and aid to the unnatural and causeless rebellion by which our institutions and national integrity are sought to be overthrown." [105]

The same month witnessed the closing of the Alston Association Club and the Germania Club.[106] Arrests seemed to mount instead of decreasing for such reasons as disloyal or alleged treasonable sentiments and practises, resisting enrollment, being refugees from the South, not giving information to officers, helping wounded rebels with food and supplies, seditious language, spying, and many others.[107] John Fulton, a " Southern Rights " advocate, said that martial law had overthrown the Constitution of the State. Moreover

> Brutal outrages such as had never disgraced the soil of Maryland, and acts of petty tyranny which any man would, a twelvemonth before, have been ashamed to order to execute, were perpetrated without eliciting a word of public remonstrance or denunciation from the Union party. Persons were dragged from their homes upon the mere order of some contemptible underling of the government. The houses of citizens were canvassed and ransacked in the search for arms, paper and flags; and oftentimes without even the pretext of an excuse for the outrage being vouchsafed to the occupants. Free speech became an act of treason, which the government agencies punished as they chose, and persons of both sexes and of all ages were over and over again arrested for some casual remark which was disrespectful to the Government and therefore deemed to be disloyal. Even the unconscious utterances of the drunken reveller were noted by the active agents of Mr. Lincoln, and numbers of men were arrested for having in their cups said something that savored of respect for Mr. Jefferson Davis or Stonewall Jackson.[108]

When Lee's army was on its way to Pennsylvania, General Schenck on June 30, 1863 issued a proclamation establishing martial law in Maryland.[109] He also issued " Orders Under Martial

[104] *Baltimore American*, May 26, 27, 1863.
[105] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, III (1863), 615.
[106] *Ibid.*,: A. H. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, 474.
[107] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, II (1863), 610-613.
[108] *Southern Rights and Union Parties in Maryland Contrasted*, 22.
[109] *O. R.*, Series 1, XXVII, Part 3, 437-438.

Law" that regulated the sale of arms and ammunition within his Department, required properly issued passes of persons leaving Baltimore, closed more clubs and similar resorts until further notice, required that bars, coffee-houses and drinking saloons should be closed from 8 p. m. to 8 a. m. under penalty of punishment to violators, and finally directed that "the stores, shops, manufactories, and other places of business other than apothecary shops and printing offices of daily journals, be closed at 5 p. m., for the purpose of giving patriotic citizens an opportunity to drill and make themselves expert in the use of arms." [110]

Martial law and Schenck's accompanying orders were received with the usual protests from the people of Maryland, both loyal and disloyal. Yet, on July 2, further restrictions were placed upon them. "Unless enrolled in volunteer companies for the defense of their homes," citizens were not allowed to have arms within their homes. The Provost-Marshal and the police searched many homes for arms in accordance with this order.[111] Outwardly, Schenck had Maryland so loyal that a Baltimore correspondent could report the following interview with some rebel prisoners at Boonsboro:

> 'What do you think of Maryland now?'
> 'Maryland be ----. I tell you sir, she's the most loyal State in your ---- Union. You may bet your life upon that.
> We don't want her; keep her; she is *your* Maryland now!'
> 'Are you satisfied with your attempt at invasion?'
> 'None of us common soldiers wanted to come North, but I guess General Lee's satisfied. He won't try it . . . again.'
> Just then the command was given. 'Prisoners fall in!' [112]

There was great rejoicing among many when General Schenck decided to run for Congress in the Dayton District of Ohio in November 1863. He was elected by a large vote over Clement L. Vallandigham. Upon his departure the *Baltimore American* stated with restraint that Schenck had "satisfactorily discharged the arduous duties of commander. . . ." [113] He was succeeded tempor-

[110] *Ibid.*, 437. *Baltimore American*, July 1, 1863.
[111] Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, "Diary," 22.
[112] *Baltimore American*, July 23, 1863.
[113] *Ibid.*, December 7, 1863; *Baltimore Sun*, November 23, 1863. December 7, 1863.

arily by General Henry H. Lockwood, senior officer next in rank in the Department. Lockwood had distinguished himself in the field, particularly at Gettysburg where he commanded a brigade. Lately he had been in command of forces at Harper's Ferry and vicinity. Well known in Maryland, his appointment was generally well received. Soon, however, he was replaced by Major General Lewis Wallace.

Martial law, established by Schenck on June 30, was suspended after the November, 1863 election. Some notorious arrests were made in connection with this election.[114] Ex-Governor Thomas G. Pratt was arrested again and refused to take the oath. He was ordered South and detained at Fort Monroe. Colonel Joseph Nicholson, for many years clerk of the Maryland Senate and later of the United States Senate, also refused to take the oath when arrested.[115]

In the spring of 1864 military authorities considered proclaiming martial law again in Maryland, particularly on the Eastern Shore. There, Southern sentiment continued to manifest itself in various ways. Rebel spies and other agents were aided, the escape of prisoners of war facilitated, contraband trade encouraged, soldiers for the Confederacy recruited and taken South, and important information communicated South.[116] Martial law was not imposed on these counties at this time, however.

Baltimore steadily grew more loyal in 1864.[117] But the State was still greatly divided upon some of the war issues. The close vote on the Constitution of 1864 was indicative of this,[118] as was the vigilance over the elections of 1864 by Federal officials.[119] The Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland were especially hostile to the emancipation of slaves on November 1. Disloyalty and opposition had to be suppressed by force. The question of slavery in general took on serious proportions in Maryland as slaves were freed by provisions of the new Constitution.[120]

[114] Clark, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*, 99-114. This 1863 election was renewed evidence of the Federal Government's determination to keep any Southern sympathy and overt action suppressed.

[115] *O. R.*, Series 2, VI, 584, 603, 607; *Baltimore Sun*, December 1, 12, 1863; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 11, 1864.

[116] *Ibid.*, Series 1, XXXVII, Part 1, 375. Report by General Lewis Wallace.

[117] *Baltimore American*, May 7, 1864.

[118] Clark, *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War*, 190-197.

[119] *Ibid.*, 117-127.

[120] *Ibid.*, 159-201.

The number of arrests, while large in 1864, was less than in 1863. Gradually, as the military forces under General Grant asserted supremacy over those of General Lee, Maryland prepared for a Union victory.[121] An ironic twist to the arbitrary arrests of the Federal Government was the development in Washington County in early August, 1864. Seven prominent citizens of that county were ordered arrested as hostages by General J. A. Early of the Confederate Army. Ordered to come before him at Williamsport, they were released on parole to report in Richmond in two weeks. They were: Reverend Dr. John B. Kerfoot, President of Saint James College in Washington County; Reverend Mr. Coit, a professor at the same institution; Isaac Nesbitt, Clerk of the Circuit Court; Andrew H. Hager, a leading miller and merchant of Hagerstown; Frederick C. McComas, inspector of whiskey under national revenue laws; Reverend Mr. Edwards, rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Hagerstown; and Reverend Mr. Hyde, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Judge D. Weisel of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Maryland appealed to President Lincoln to secure the release of these men, giving as references United States Senators Reverdy Johnson and Thomas H. Hicks, United States Representatives Thomas and Webster, and others. But there is no record of their exchange as prisoners of war or of their release.[122]

[121] See accounts of military officers stationed on the Eastern Shore. *O. R.*, Series 1, XLIII, Part 2, 632, 728-729, 927.
[122] *Ibid.*, Series 2, VII, 576-578.

THE METHODIST CHRISTMAS CONFERENCE: BALTIMORE

DECEMBER 24, 1784—JANUARY 2, 1785

By N. C. Hughes, Jr.

THE Revolutionary War generated a host of problems for American society. Inflation stalked the land; economic and social dislocation spread down to the fingertips of the nation. Few individuals or institutions escaped. For some the Revolution had enriched and blessed—for others it had impoverished and ironically deceived. The outcome for one institution, the group of Methodist societies, remained uncertain. Its fate did not seem doubtful to one contemporary, however. He interpreted events as hostile to the development of the young sect, prophesying that efforts on their part to construct new chapels would be foolhardy for ". . . by the time [the war] is over a corncrib will hold them all." [1]

One might agree after surveying the physical and spiritual wreckage. Material losses hurt not only the Methodists, but every religious group. Chapels and congregations had been devoured by the opposing armies, hungry for hospitals and soldiers. With the seaboard nation a battlefield, conditions hardly seemed propitious for religious revival. Indeed some observers contended that moral apathy characterized Americans; even the evangelical Baptists: "God sent them liberty and with it leanness of soul." [2]

In many respects the American Methodists occupied a more tenuous position during the war than the other religious groups.

[1] Holland Nimmons McTyeire, *A History of Methodism: Comprising a View of the Rise of This Revival of Spiritual Religion in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Principal Agents by Whom It Was Promoted in Europe and America; with Some Account of the Doctrine and Polity of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, and the Means and Manner of Its Extension Down to A. D. 1884* (Nashville, 1891), p. 345.

[2] William Warren Sweet, *Virginia Methodism: A History* (Richmond, 1955), p. 99.

They were not an independent, organized denomination—merely a revivalistic society within the Church of England. For sacraments they depended upon the Anglicans and the other Protestant churches. The scarcity of Anglican priests and the restrictions of other denominations kept many Methodists from even these altars. Sacramental destitution was not the only problem. Most of Wesley's missionaries remained loyal to the Crown. All returned to England during the Revolution with the exception of Francis Asbury. The Methodists prior to the war had depended heavily upon John Wesley, their doctrinal and inspirational fountain-head. The war severed communications with Wesley and deprived the American Methodists of their leader. Wesley, facing the choice between his American followers and his king, decided to uphold the British cause. He contributed pamphlets supporting the efforts of the Crown and revealed his displeasure with the Americans. "I find a danger now of a new kind—a danger of losing my love for the Americans; I mean their leaders; for the poor sheep are more sinned against than sinning." [3] In America, moreover, both Methodist preachers and people sometimes suffered persecution. Abandoned abroad and suspect at home, the American Methodists came to view their own independence jealously.

At the close of the American Revolution Methodism was primarily an urban movement. Wesley had emphasized the city, and not until after the Christmas Conference did the wholesale penetration of the black forest begin. In its early period in America, Methodism lacked educated leadership. Preachers stressed the aspects of religion that they and the masses understood. Emotionalism marked their meetings and brought ridicule in an age of rationalists. "The charge preferred against us was not hypocrisy, but enthusiasm." We are known to be ". . . illiterate, unsound in our principles, and enthusiastic in our spirit and practice. . . ." [4]

Organizationally, the Americans depended upon Wesley's unordained missionaries and upon native lay preachers. To regulate and coordinate the work of the missionaries and preachers, Wesley

[3] J. Wesley to C. Wesley, October 17, 1775, quoted in William Warren Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (New York, 1933), pp. 83-84. Hereinafter cited as Sweet, *Methodism*.

[4] Thomas Ware, *Sketches of the Life and Travels of Rev. Thomas Ware, Who Has Been an Itinerant Methodist Preacher for More Than Fifty Years* (New York, 1933), pp. 83-84. Hereinafter cited as Ware, *Life and Travels*.

had delegated executive power to a general assistant. The war, however, wrecked Wesley's organization, and as the missionaries and general assistants returned to England, the Americans turned to the lay preachers. These men took over the old circuits and continued the work in an independent and unorthodox fashion. During the war they met in conference to resolve immediate organizational problems and appointed a committee to oversee the affairs of American Methodism. This act represented a bold departure in the history of the church. In the past Wesley had used the English conference merely as an advisory body and doubtless intended for the American conference to remain in a similar position.

Later in the Revolutionary War the American conference again took the initiative and appointed Francis Asbury to occupy the vacant office of general assistant.[5] Such executive action further signified the increasing independence and responsibility of the conference. Wesley, however, approved in a letter to a North Carolina preacher.

> When the Government in America is settled, I believe some of our Brethren will be ready to come over. I cannot advise them to do it yet. First let us see how Providence opens itself. And I am the less in haste, because I am persuaded Bro: Asbury is raised up to preserve Order among you, & to do just what I should do myself if it pleased God to bring me to America.[6]

Asbury's leadership soon ran afoul of a growing reaction on the part of the American preachers against authority. Early in the Revolution the Virginia Methodists, acting as good Wesleyans, had demonstrated their loyalty to the established church by opposing the other sects that wished to divorce church and state.[7] By 1779, however, the complexion of American Methodism, or more specifically Methodism in the southern states, was changing. The Methodist societies failed to resist the separatist fever which the Revolutionary air induced. Rumblings for or an American organization became audible. Moreover demands were being heard for an independent Methodist church. This trend culminated in the

[5] Edward Frank Humphrey, *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789* (Boston, 1924), p. 179.

[6] J. Wesley to E. Dromgoole, September 17, 1783, in Edward Dromgoole Papers, the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Hereinafter cited as Dromgoole Papers.

[7] Sweet, *Methodism,* p. 101.

Fluvanna Conference held in Virginia during 1779. The Conference appointed a committee and gave it the powers of ordination.[8] Actually the preachers who proposed this drastic step extended Wesley's own logic as a basis for their action. They reasoned that ". . . if God had called them to preach, he had called them also to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper." [9] The Fluvanna Conference thus repudiated the episcopal form of government by vesting sovereignty in the preachers assembled in conference.

To meet this challenge of the Virginia and North Carolina preachers, the northern ministers met and resolved to send Asbury and two other ministers to confer with the southerners and draw them back into the old organization.[10] Asbury met the southern preachers at Manakintown, Virginia the following year. After prolonged discussion the separatists compromised and agreed to give up the administration of ordinances for one year while Asbury promised to use his influence with Wesley regarding a remedy for the sacramental deficiencies in America. With this agreement the " newside " movement, as it was called, temporarily collapsed and Asbury triumphed.[11] Yet, it was evident to all that if a solution was not reached soon, the Methodist organization would be shattered. One contemporary remarked:

> The struggle . . . [has] continued so long that there is reason to believe, if it had not been for the influence of Mr. Asbury, the societies in America would have assumed the character of an independent church, and had the ordinances duly administered to them. . . . Nor was the influence of Mr. Asbury, great as it was, sufficient to restrain the societies and keep them in that condition much longer. This I learned the first conference I attended.[12]

From 1781 to 1784 Asbury, with the united support of the northern preachers, maintained a loose form of organization. He kept urging Wesley for assistance and in 1783 pointed out the infeasibility of long range control. Asbury also suggested that he

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

[9] Thomas B. Neely, *A History of the Origin and Development of the Governing Conference in Methodism, and Especially of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1892), p. 147. Hereinafter cited as Neely, *Governing Conference.*

[10] Sweet, *Methodism,* p. 95.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 96; E. Dromgoole to F. Asbury, December 29, 1805, in Dromgoole Papers.

[12] Ware, *Life and Travels,* pp. 110-111.

should retain the authority that he had won in America for he believed that no individual

> . . . can manage the Lay Preachers here so well, . . . as one that has been in the raising of most of them. No man can make a proper change upon paper to send one here, and another [there] without knowing the Circuits and the gifts of all the Preachers, unless he is always among them.[13]

By 1784 there were eighty-four Methodist preachers and almost fifteen thousand members in America.[14] Restive southern societies constituted the bulk of the membership. Torn by internal dissent, deprived of the sacraments, and lacking normal leadership, American Methodism was incapable of realizing its potentialities. The status quo could no longer be maintained.

Early in 1784 John Wesley took steps which ultimately touched off basic changes in American Methodism. He had failed to secure ordination for prospective missionaries, and fearing further delay, he felt free to appoint a stronger executive for America. Wesley then approached Thomas Coke, a young Methodist, who was an ordained minister and who had achieved success in Irish mission work. Coke responded to Wesley's inquiries and agreed to go to America. In July, 1784 Wesley appointed Coke and two other English Methodist preachers, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, as missionaries to America. In September Wesley went farther and ordained Whatcoat and Vasey as deacons and then as elders. The following day he ordained Coke superintendent. The ordination appears to have been at Coke's request.[15] In addition to the administrative functions of the general assistant, the superintendent possessed the perpetuating power of ordination. As elders in America, Whatcoat and Vasey were to serve the dual functions of satisfying the need for the administration of the sacraments and of assisting in the ordination of Asbury as superintendent.[16]

[13] F. Asbury to J. Wesley, September 20, 1783, quoted in William Warren Sweet, *The Methodists, a Collection of Source Documents;* William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840* (Chicago, 1946), IV, 15. Herinafter cited as Sweet, *The Methodists.*

[14] C. C. Goss, *Statistical History of the First Century of American Methodism: With a Summary of the Origin and Present Operations of Other Denominations* (New York, 1866), p. 51.

[15] T. Coke to J. Wesley, August 9, 1784, L. Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A., Founder of the Methodists,* 3 vol. (New York, 1872), II, p. 225.

[16] Abel Stevens, *The Centenary of American Methodism: A Sketch of Its History, Theology, Practical System, and Success* (New York, 1866), p. 215.

Wesley's intentions at this time have long been the subject of controversy, but it seems apparent that he took action to forestall the possible loss of the Methodist societies in America. By empowering Coke and Asbury as co-superintendents Wesley could restore his administrative control and alleviate the sacramental needs of the people. Now America would have a self-sustaining, ordained clergy answerable to the superintendents and ultimately to Wesley himself.[17] Most evidence shows that Wesley did not intend to establish an independent church in America; certainly he did not wish to create a Methodist organization independent of his authority.[18]

Before Coke's departure Wesley prepared three documents to explain his actions to the Americans. Asbury and the American Methodists came to regard these documents as a mandate and as the basis for their later acts. In the first document Wesley stated the situation which caused him to ordain Thomas Coke.

> By a very uncommon train of providences many of the Provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the Mother Country and erected into independent States. The English Government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the States of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the Provincial Assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all.[19]

Wesley went on to say that the Bishop of London had previously declined to ordain Methodist missionaries, and he believed that the Anglican Church would demand authority over the societies if the bishop reversed his decision. ". . . Therefore my scruples are at an end, and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest." [20] Wesley defended his assumption of the power of ordination by referring to the ancient Christian practices expounded in Lord King's *Account of the Primitive Church.*

[17] It is revealing to note the similarity between the office of superintendent which Coke and Asbury held and the office of Superintendent of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada which Jean Oliver Briand held in 1766. In both instances the title of superintendent disguised the real office and power of bishop.

[18] For a full and penetrating examination of Wesley's attitudes and intentions, see John Alfred Faulkner, *Burning Questions in Historic Christianity* (New York, 1930).

[19] J. Wesley to "Our Bretheren in America," September 10, 1784, John Wasley, *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M. Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford,* 8 vol. Edited by John Telford (London, 1931), VII, 239.

[20] *Ibid.,* VII, 237-238.

Next he announced that Coke and Asbury would be superintendents and that Whatcoat and Vasey would serve as elders. Wesley told the Americans that he had prepared a *Sunday Service* for them and that he expected the preachers to use it. Also entrusted to Coke were two other documents. The first, which has since disappeared, outlined Wesley's plans for American Methodism.[21] The second testified to Coke's ordination.[22]

Thomas Coke embarked upon his American adventure September 18, 1784 and landed in New York on November 3 after an "agreeable passage."[23] Coke quickly perceived that his arrival had been anticipated. "By some means or other, the whole continent, so it were, expects me."[24] John Dickens, a local preacher, welcomed Coke and the two elders. Dickens rejoiced to learn that Asbury would be appointed superintendent and that a workable Methodist organization would soon be established. He urged Coke to make the plans public. Soon Coke left New York and proceeded south to find Asbury. He publicized Wesley's plans to Methodists but appears to have kept the news from the Episcopal rectors even though he conducted services in their churches.[25]

From New York Coke journeyed to Philadelphia, on through Delaware, and into Maryland. On Sunday, November 14, 1784 he met Asbury at Barratt's Chapel in Kent County. The meeting was dramatic. Asbury entered while Coke was conducting the service. He expressed surprise at finding Coke and was "greatly surprised" to see Whatcoat administering the sacraments. At the conclusion of the service Asbury rushed forward and greeted Coke. It was a happy moment for both. Afterwards they adjourned to Mrs. Barratt's for dinner.[26] When they had completed the meal Coke took Asbury aside and informed him of Wesley's plans.

[Asbury] . . . expressed considerable doubts concerning it, which I rather applaud than otherwise; but informed me that he had received some

[21] This document, according to contemporary Methodist scholars, has either been lost or destroyed. Some of the older accounts, unfavorable to either Coke or Asbury or both, intimate that it may have been purposely repressed.

[22] Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 104.

[23] September 18, 1784 and November 3, 1784 entries, Thomas Coke, "The Journal of Thomas Coke," *Methodist Review* (September-October, 1896), XLIV, 3, 6.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[25] Sweet, *Methodism*, p. 25.

[26] Coke, *loc. cit.*, 8.

intimations of my arrival on the continent; and as he thought it probable I might meet him on that day, and might have something of importance to communicate to him from Mr. Wesley, he had therefore called together a considerable number of the preachers to form a council; and if they were of opinion that it would be expedient immediately to call a conference, it should be done. They were accordingly called, and after debate, were unanimously of opinion that it would be best immediately to call a conference of all the traveling preachers on the continent.[27]

When Coke informed Asbury that Wesley intended for him to be ordained as superintendent, Asbury replied, ". . . if the preachers unanimously chuse [sic] me, I shall not act in the capacity I have hitherto done by Mr. Wesley's appointment." [28] Asbury's decision to give up his position as general assistant and to serve as superintendent only if the conference elected him, was of great importance to American Methodism. Through the darkened glass of historical hindsight one can interpret this decision as a religious dramatization or reenactment of the Independence movement. Implicitly, at least, it was a stroke against external authority and another evidence of substituting representative government for paternalism. As a realist Asbury knew that he ran little risk at the hands of the conference. He had recruited many of the preachers himself and knew he had the confidence of the conference. Furthermore Asbury must have known that such procedure would be in tune with the prevailing democratic sentiment.

The group of ministers at Mrs. Barratt's decided to call a special conference to meet in Baltimore at Christmas. One of their number, Freeborn Garrettson, left immediately for Virginia and North Carolina to summon the preachers. Before Coke and Asbury left Mrs. Barratt's, they agreed to attempt to establish a school or college in Maryland and decided to use the next five weeks to collect contributions. Asbury mapped a long and arduous itinerary for Coke—nearly a thousand miles through many of the backwoods areas. Coke would bring the sacraments to those who had been so long without them, and Asbury probably intended that the trip would familiarize Coke with conditions confronting the

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] November 15, 1784 entry, Francis Asbury, *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church from August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815,* 3 vol. (New York, 1821), I, 376. Hereinafter cited as Asbury, *Journal.*

American circuit rider. Asbury procured a horse for him and sent a popular Negro preacher, "Black Harry Hosier," to accompany him.[29]

The next five weeks passed swiftly for the Methodists. Coke became saddlesore and weary as he plodded mile after mile, day after day through the countryside. He learned a great deal about America and witnessed at first hand the startling need for ordained ministers. "Perhaps I have in this little tour baptized more children and adults than I should have in my whole life, if stationed in an *English* parish." [30] Asbury, Whatcoat, and Vasey traveled in another section of the Mid-Atlantic states. Unlike Coke, Asbury spent more time pondering than observing. In his diary he admitted that the new proposals troubled him, and at nearly every town he carefully surveyed public opinion. As his journey came to a close Asbury's mind appeared to have resolved the problem. ". . . The preachers and people seem to be much pleased with the projected plan; I myself am led to think it is of the Lord." [31]

Coke and Asbury met again on December 14, on the shore of Chesapeake Bay. When they compared the sums they had collected for the college it totalled over one thousand pounds in currency and in land.[32] The two men rode from the Chesapeake to Perry Hall, a mansion near Baltimore, where they remained until December 24.

Perry Hall was the pride of American Methodism. It stood as one of the finest homes in the section, "a rallying point for the Wesleyans in that part of the country." [33] Henry Dorsey Gough, its owner, was a prized convert and unique among his more financially austere brethren. William Black, who had established Methodism in Nova Scotia and who was shopping for ministerial reinforcements, remarked, Gough ". . . is a Methodist, and supposed to be worth one hundred thousand pounds. He is not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. He has built a neat stone meeting-house, entertains the circuit preachers, and at times preaches himself, and

[29] Coke, *loc. cit.*, 8-9; November 15, 1784 entry, Asbury, *Journal*, I, 376.
[30] December 6, 1784 entry, Coke, *loc. cit.*, 11.
[31] November 26, 1784 entry, Asbury, *Journal*, I, 377.
[32] Coke, *loc. cit.*, 9.
[33] For paintings and an interesting account of Perry Hall and its owners, see Edith Rossiter Bevan, "Perry Hall: County Seat of the Gough and Carroll Families," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (March, 1950), 33-46.

thus he continued to do during the late war, at the risk of his immense estate." [34] While at Perry Hal, Coke and Asbury agreed upon the type of school they wished to found. They primarily occupied themselves with hammering out the agenda for the coming conference with the aid of a group of local preachers. While Coke and Asbury enjoyed the hospitality of Perry Hall, Methodist preachers in clusters of two and three pushed through the snow toward Baltimore. On the morning of the 24th Coke and Asbury left Perry Hall and rode into town.

The psychological timing of the Christmas Conference is worthy of note. It came at a time in the church year which stressed preparation and anticipation. These men came together to celebrate the good news of the Christian world and to receive the good news of their spiritual leaders. The warmth of the occasion would go far toward melting the reservations of the conservatives and would be disseminated through the returning preachers to their congregations.

The annual conferences and quarterly meetings held by the Methodist preachers always provided them with pleasurable experiences. They met their fellow workers, discussed their mutual problems and adventures, and recharged the batteries of their personalities. These meetings also provided spiritual instruction and inspiration through the worship services.

The Christmas Conference convened in a setting conducive to vigorous action. Baltimore was one of the five largest American cities and the fastest growing. Thickly populated with Methodists, it represented the geographic heart of the Methodist movement and promised a cordial reception. The building that would house the conference was a simple structure. Built just before the war, Lovely Lane Chapel stood near the center of town just south of Baltimore Street. Already the chapel had acquired a history. The famous Captain Webb had preached here; and here the first Baltimore Conference had been held.[35] The Baltimore Methodists had thoughtfully reconditioned the chapel prior to the Christmas conference. They had provided backs for the benches and a large stove to warm the interior.[36]

The assembling Methodist preachers were a strikingly young

[34] Neely, *Governing Conference,* p. 259.
[35] Annie Leakin Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (New York, 1931), p. 148.
[36] Coke, *loc. cit.,* 14.

group. Most had served in their spiritual capacity only a few years. Their youth tended to make them more enthusiastic in response to proposed change. Their youth also signified that during the critical decades ahead American Methodists would have a continuity of leadership; leadership inspired by and dedicated to the experience and spirit of the Christmas Conference. Approximately sixty of the eighty-one American preachers were present. They came from as far north as Nova Scotia and at least as far south as North Carolina.

The personalities of Asbury and Coke dominated the Conference. Asbury, a familiar figure for the preachers, was a short, grave-looking man, forever attired in "black and remarkably plain" clothes.[37] Restless, driving, and ambitious for his faith, he commanded the respect and obedience of most American Methodists. Uneducated, pious, and capable of unbelievable endurance, he stood as the prototype of rough American Methodism. Thomas Coke, on the other hand, symbolized the scholarly and respectable side of Methodism. A fellow at Oxford, Dr. Coke had been closely associated with Wesley. He was outgoing by nature and a witty, delightful conversationalist. The American preachers, however, distrusted the Englishman and compared him unfavorably with Asbury. "His stature, complexion, and voice, resembled those of a woman rather than of a man; and his manners were too courtly for me." [38]

The mood of the conference seemed to have inhaled the warmth and optimism of Advent. It remained in the memories of its members as unique for its seriousness of purpose and spirit of sincere cooperation. To transact their business the Methodists employed the customary device of questions and answers. "As well as I can remember every thing or measure that was proposed was put to the vote, and a majority carried it." [39] On Christmas Day, with Coke presiding, the basic questions were asked: debate followed and then the vote.

[37] D. M. Reese to W. B. Sprague, March 1, 1851, William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Methodist Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished Clergymen of the Methodist Denomination in the United States, From Its Commencement to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Five,* 8 vol. (New York, 1857-1869), VII, 20.

[38] Ware, *Life and Travels,* p. 108.

[39] E. Dromgoole to F. Asbury, December 29, 1805, in Dromgoole Papers.

1. Whether we should have the Ordinances Administered among us & we should be erected into an independent Church—
   Unanimously carried in the affirmative
2. Whether our Church should be that of an Episcopal or Presbyterian Church—
   Answered—that of an Episcopal Church, called the Methodist Episcopal Church in America
3. How many Orders of Ministers shall we have—
   Ansr: Three—1. Superintendent. 2. Elders. 3. Deacons.
4. That the Superintendent shall have a negative vote in all ordinations—
   [Answered in the affirmative, although the Conference stipulated that it had the power " to suspend or turn out a Superintendent."][40]

Although radical in nature each of these fundamentals carried by a thumping and reassuring majority.[41] Conservatives braced themselves against the backs of their benches and prepared for a long Christmas. Cautious souls like Thomas Haskins commented inwardly, " Have felt my mind much exercised—yesterday and today on what was done in Conference—I fear *haste will make waste* if we don't take care." [42]

This series of questions furnished only the springboard, however. After the passage of the act of separation the preachers hastened to pass specific proposals to implement their plans. On the 25th Asbury was ordained deacon; he became an elder on the 26th and superintendent on the 27th.[43]

The ordination of Asbury as superintendent constituted the high point of the Christmas Conference. A subject of many descriptive paragraphs, pictures and orations, it remains one of the great moments in American Methodist history. Lovely Lane Chapel swelled with preachers and with prominent Methodist laymen. Asbury received the office at the hands of Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey. Phillip Otterbein, a personal friend of Asbury assisted in the ordination.[44]

[40] Ruthella Mary Bibbins, *How Methodism Came, The Beginnings of Methodism in England and America* (Baltimore, 1945), p. 155. Hereinafter cited as Bibbins, *How Methodism Came.*

[41] T. A. Kerley, *Conference Rights; or, Governing Principles of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as Found in the History, Legislation, and Administration of the Church* (Nashville, 1898), p. 70.

[42] Bibbins, *How Methodism Came,* p. 155.

[43] Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* 2 vol. (New York, 1839-1841), I, 157.

[44] Otterbein had been in America since 1774 and had held charges in Pennsylvania and Maryland. He is known in American history as the founder of the United Bretheren.

In his new capacity Asbury had authority "to ordain superintendents, elders, and deacons; to preside as a moderator in . . . conference; to fix the appointments of the preachers for the several circuits; and in the intervals of the conference, to change, receive or suspend preachers, as necessity may require; and to receive appeals from the preachers and people, and decide them." The American Methodist ministers assembled in conference controlled Asbury's powers and had the right "to expel him for improper conduct." [45]

Following Asbury's ordination Coke preached a sermon defending and explaining the action of the conference. The sermon mounted a heavy attack upon the failings of the Episcopal Church and assailed the marriage of Church and State. This sermon reveals a new Thomas Coke, apparently a convert himself to the radical principles of the Revolution. Wesley might have gasped had he heard the Anglican Church referred to as "filled with the parasites and bottle companions of the rich and great." Dr. Coke went even further saying ". . . the antichristian union which has subsisted between church and state is broken asunder." [46]

By December 27th the last straggling preacher had arrived and the ". . . proceedings on Friday [the 25th] were unanimously agreed to after recapitualtion." [47] The next four days passed swiftly as the conference adopted rules and regulations for their new church. During this period the conference held early services every morning at six o'clock, which the people attended in goodly numbers. Dr. Coke preached every day at noon except on Sundays and ordination days when the service began at ten o'clock. Coke's sermons were popular and the "chapel was full every time." The conference alloted the large noon collections to the mission work in Antigua and Nova Scotia. In the evening the conference divided and services were held at various meeting-houses in Baltimore including Dutch Chapel which Otterbein graciously lent.[48]

On December 31st occurred the only recorded attempt of the Episcopalians to alter the course of events. Two representatives paid an unofficial visit to Asbury and Coke, but found both

[45] T. Coke Sermon, December 27, 1784, in Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University. Hereinafter cited as Coke Sermon.
[46] Robert Emory, *History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1844), p. 38. Hereinafter cited as Emory, *History of the Discipline.*
[47] Bibbins, *How Methodism Came,* p. 155.
[48] Coke, *loc cit.,* 14.

resolute on separation. Coke compared the two churches to ". . . two earthen basins set afloat in a current of water, which so long as they should continue to float in two parallel lines, would float securely: but the moment they began to converge were in danger of destroying each other." Asbury avoided the metaphors of his learned colleague and stated the obvious fact that " the difference between us lay not so much in doctrines and forms of worship as in experience and practice." [49] The nexus remained broken and the Methodists went on with their work.

The ordination of deacons and elders highlighted the next few days. Individuals considered for ordination were nominated by the superintendent and elected by the conference.[50] The conference appointed twelve elders and a somewhat larger number of deacons. " When any were proposed for Ordination, they withdrew while [their] character and qualifications were enquired into, and the vote taken. . . . Some of the Preachers who were proposed were rejected, which caused some to murmur, but others were resigned and content." [51] The functions of a deacon were ". . . to baptize in the absence of an elder, to assist the elder in the administration of the Lord's Supper, to marry, to bury the dead, and read the liturgy to the people except what relates to the administration of the Lord's Supper." The elder possessed greater powers, being entitled ". . . to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper; and to perform all the other rites prescribed by our liturgy." [52] Originally the office of elder was not an administrative position. This came only at a later date when the forces of consolidation within the church gained supremacy.

With the ordination of the elders on January 2, 1785 the Christmas Conference came to a close.[53] Preachers began their long journeys back to their circuits and stations to relay the news of the creation of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Coke

[49] Dr. Andrews to Dr. Smith, December 31, 1784, reproduced in Appendix I of John Kewley, *An Enquiry into the Validity of Methodist Episcopacy; with an Appendix Containing Two Original Documents, Never Before Published* (Wilmington, 1807).

[50] Edward J. Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform Synoptical of General Methodism 1703 to 1898 with Special and Comprehensive Reference to Its Most Salient Exposition in the History of the Methodist Protestant Church* (Norwood, Mass., 1899), p. 283.

[51] E. Dromgoole to F. Asbury, December 29, 1805, in Dromgoole Papers.

[52] Emory, *History of the Discipline,* p. 39.

[53] Sweet, *Methodism,* pp. 20-21.

left Baltimore on January 3rd and made " the coldest ride I ever rode " to Perry Hall. Asbury remained and preached on the 3rd and departed the next day. Most of the participants left joyous; all left thoughtful. One preacher formulated his thoughts in a prayer. " I feel myself uneasy. Oh how tottering I see Methodism now. . . . Keep, Oh keep us from dissentions among ourselves, here our danger lies." [54]

Some misgivings seem plausible when one surveys the sensitive areas to which the Christmas Conference devoted its attention. Scarcely any phase of church life escaped notice and regulations appeared embracing the totality of Methodist activities. Yet, if one examines the basis for the new Methodist Discipline it quickly becomes apparent that the air of sweeping change is illusory; for the preachers fastened their church securely in the bedrock of English Methodist experience. The essence of their doctrine consisted of " Repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." The doctrine exhorted preachers to approach the people earnestly. Their credo would be " I ceased not to warn every one, night and day, with tears." [55]

The conference attacked many of the practical problems troubling the ministry. They defined offices and preaching methods; determined the proper mode of baptism; and standardized the rules for class meetings. They alloted each preacher an annual allowance of " twenty-four pounds (Pennsylvania currency) and no more." A retirement fund was set up, supported by the traveling preachers. The conference discouraged preachers from marrying and forbade the use of intoxicating liquors except as medicine. Elders received assignments for mission work in Antigua and Nova Scotia; while both elders and deacons were distributed to meet the requirements in the United States. As for the laity, the conference decided that " this is no time to give any encouragement to superfluity of apparel." It was certainly not the time to allow mixed seating in the congregations and this practice was prohibited. To eliminate one of the sources for the loss of membership the preachers cautioned against members marrying " unawakened persons." [56]

The doctrinal foundation of American Methodism, like the state

[54] Bibbins, *How Methodism Came*, p. 155.
[55] Emory, *History of the Discipline*, p. 33.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

constitutions, incorporated elements of older institutions. Wesley's *Sunday Service* included the Articles of Religion. The conference adopted the Articles but did not incorporate them into the Discipline until 1790.[57] The Articles had been adapted by Wesley from the familiar Articles of Religion of the Anglican Church. He accepted twenty-four of the thirty-nine articles and added one. The omitted articles included those dealing with Excommunicated Persons, Civil Magistrates, the Descent of Christ into Hell, Works before Justification, Predestination and Election, Of the Authority of the Church, and Of Ministering in the Congregation. The last article had deterred the Methodist movement for it stated "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same." [58] The important addition to the Anglican Articles was the Methodist article XXIII, "Of the Rules of the United States of America."

> The Congress, the general assemblies, the governors, and councils of the states, *as the delegates of the people,* are the rulers of the United States of America, according to the division of power made to them by the general act of confederation, and by the constitutions of their respective states. And the said states ought not to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.[59]

For American Methodist liturgy the conference accepted Wesley's *Sunday Service* which Coke brought with him from England. Wesley prepared the *Sunday Service,* modeling it closely upon the Episcopal *Prayer Book.* Wesley urged the preachers to utilize his *Sunday Service,* but those knowing the rough-and-tumble American circuit rider anticipated the fate of the little book with the formal service.

The college plan sponsored by Coke and Asbury gained acceptance at the Christmas Conference. "The college is to receive for education and board the sons of the Elders and Preachers of the Methodist Church, poor orphans, and the sons of the subscribers and other friends. . . . The institution is also intended for the benefit of young men who are called to preach. . . ." [61] Cokesbury

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 95.
[58] *Ibid.,* p. 95 ff.
[59] Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* I, 174.
[60] John Wesley, *From the Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America* (Chicago, 1903).
[61] Circular signed by Asbury and Coke, quoted in Ancel H. Bennett, *A Concise*

College, as it would be called, was soon built on the shore of the Chesapeake and became an institution stressing classical studies. The dream of Asbury and Coke perished, however, as repeated fires consumed every effort. Nevertheless Cokesbury symbolizes that avid enthusiasm for education which would characterize the Methodists henceforward.

At least the perplexities of education spared the Methodists acute emotional and intellectual conflict which the nemesis of slavery did not. The Christmas Conference threw caution to the winds and advanced upon this thornbush directly. Asbury detested the institution as did many of his colleagues. "If a man-of-war is a 'floating-hell,' . . . [rice plantations] are standing ones: wicked masters, overseers, and negroes, cursing, drinking, no Sabbaths, no sermons." [62] The Christmas Conference determined "to extirpate the abomination." Preachers in charge of a circuit must keep a record of the number of slaves in the district. Methodists must not buy, sell, or give away their Negroes. If they did so they would be excluded from the meetings of the society. Furthermore each slaveholder must release every slave between forty and forty-five at once. The younger slaves were to be freed within a given period of time.[63] Thus at the Christmas Conference one finds one of the first organized anti-slavery movements. This sentiment would continue clear and strong until the death of Asbury. After 1816 the movement submerged in the name of union. It would arise again in 1844.

If the slavery regulations touched areas delicate to the laity, the Wesley binder impinged upon the sensitive core of the conference's sovereignty. This measure, adopted probably at the insistence of Coke, would cause great embarrassment in subsequent years. It stated that ". . . during the lifetime of the Rev. John Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands." [64]

These enactments by the Christmas Conference evoked a mixed response from clergy and laity. Within two years the Methodist

History of the Methodist Protestant Church, From Its Orgin: with Biographical Sketches of Several Leading Ministers of the Denominations, and also a Sketch of the Author's Life. Third Edition (Pittsburg, 1887), pp. 215-216.

[62] Ezra Squier Tipple, *The Heart of Asbury's Journal* (New York, 1904), p. 375.

[63] Emory, *History of the Discipline,* pp. 43 ff; Sweet, *Methodism,* p. 111.

[64] Sweet, *Methodism,* p. 115.

conference abrogated the Wesley binder.[65] In the same year the preachers sharply limited Coke's powers as superintendent.[66] By the end of 1787 one could say with certainty that the umbilical cord of American Methodism had been completely severed. As the Methodists adjusted and strengthened their governmental machinery other proposals of the Christmas Conference fell aside. The slavery regulation provoked such an outburst of southern resentment that it had to be suspended in early 1785;[67] but the dragon's teeth had been sown. Wesley's *Sunday Service* never found favor with the intinerants and came to be disregarded.[68]

Edward Dromgoole provided an instance of Methodist opinion in the spring following the conference. He found considerable disaffection in the South and believed that many of the preachers appointed by the conference faced rejection at the hands of their congregations.[69] Thomas Haskins appeared discouraged with the results of the Christmas Conference and friends of the society like Devereux Jarratt openly voiced their displeasure. Coke, himself, came to regret his radicalism of 1784. ". . . I am not sure but I went farther in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley . . . did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right to do, with Episcopal authority, but did not intend I think, that an entire separation should take place."[70] Coke reinforced this pronouncement by working secretly for reunion, but Asbury and the others resisted all efforts to draw them back into the Anglican Church or to reunite them with the English Methodists.

Favorable opinion outweighed the voices of negation, however. William Watters, a contemporary preacher, observed that the work of the Christmas Conference occasioned " great satisfaction through all our societies."[71] Another commentator reinforced

[65] Ware, *Life and Travels,* p. 130.
[66] Neely, *Governing Conference,* pp. 274 ff.
[67] Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists in the United States of America; Beginning in 1766, and Continued till 1809* (Baltimore, 1810), p. 102. Hereinafter cited as Lee, *Short History of the Methodists.*
[68] *Ibid,.* p. 107.
[69] E. Dromgoole to F. Asbury, December 29, 1805, in Dromgoole Papers.
[70] T. Coke to W. White, April 24, 1791, quoted in William White, *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, from Its Organization Up to the Present Day: Containing, I. A Narrative of the Organization and of the Early Measures of the Church; II. Additional Statements and Remarks; III. An Appendix of Original Papers.* Second Edition (New York, 1836), pp. 343-344.
[71] Sweet, *Methodism,* p. 112.

Watters' view. " The Methodists were pretty generally pleased at our becoming a church, and heartily united together in the plan which the conference had adopted." [72] Perhaps the most reliable means for judging the reaction is to note the remarkable expansion of Methodism. At the time of Asbury's death in 1816 Methodist membership had increased from 15,000 to 140,000. Now 2500 preachers instead of 80 spread the gospel in the United States. Its circuits stretched from the Mississippi to the Atlantic and from the Gulf to Newfoundland.[73]

This prodigious growth may be attributed to a number of causes, but in discussing them one must invariably return to its flexible organization. The dynamics of Methodism rest upon administrative strength and stunning evangelism. Remove either and the epic proportions of the circuit rider shrink to the futility of emotionalists wandering in the forest. To insist that the Christmas Conference envisioned this, would press the point beyond credulity. Asbury and Coke nevertheless knew that organizational deficiency crippled their efforts and that a remedy must be found. They saw the possibilities of an episcopal government as Coke pointed out at the time of Asbury's ordination.

> But of all forms of [church government], we think a moderate Episcopacy the best. The executive power being lodged in the hands of one, or at least a few, vigour & activity are given to [the] resolves of [the] body, and those two essential requisites of any grand undertaking are sweetly united—calmness & wisdom in deliberating; and in the executive department, expedition of force.[74]

The Christmas Conference should be credited with providing American Methodism with vital administrative machinery. It altered the common Episcopal form by granting overall direction to the superintendents who were, in turn, accountable to the con ference. " Instead of one man or few men controlling the body of the ministry, the body of the ministry had become supreme, and all power, whether legislative, excutive, or judicial, centered in and emanated from the ministry in conference assembled." [75] By choosing this organization American Methodism borrowed the

[72] Lee, *Short History of the Methodists,* p. 107.
[73] Ezra Squier Tipple, *Francis Asbury; the Prophet of the Long Road* (New York, 1916), p. 191.
[74] Coke Sermon, December 27, 1784.
[75] Neely, *Governing Conference,* p. 266.

essential structure of the Anglican Church and adapted it to the demands of the revolutionary mind and situation. This pragmatic approach can be seen in many facets of Methodist activity. Perhaps the most noticeable was their effort to educate their clergy and laity: a movement which blossomed in the early nineteenth century. The story of Methodism from 1784 forward is one of increasing centralization. Yet, the first chapter opens with a reaction against untrammeled executive control in accord with the Revolutionary example and the prevailing democratic sentiment.

One of the paradoxes of human affairs is that a nation-in-arms witnesses, even demands, bursting, blatant nationalism and at the conclusion of the war requires that this feeling be tranquilized at its very height. The Christmas Conference, it seems, availed itself of the vigor of American nationalism before the fires had been completely banked. Thus the Christmas Conference reflects this nationalism through demand for separation from the Established Church and from English Methodist control as well. As the Americans distrusted and weakened executive power, the Methodists recoiled from Wesley's authority, replacing a ruler with an administrator. By accepting the episcopal office they anticipated the American people in their demand for a more cohesive political system than the Articles of Confederation could provide. By so doing the Methodists created a religious institution, sturdy and pliable, harmonizing with the political faith of the nation, and ready to go hand-in-hand with secular organizations in conquest of the continent.

The examination of American Methodism in 1784 triggers an entire cluster of responses and associations in American history. Here in 1784 one discovers themes basic in any subsequent period: humanitarianism, the spirit of reform, individualism, and a sense of mission among others. In its context one can note the similarity of the anti-authoritarian Christmas Conference with the Articles of Confederation. At a later date Asbury and his governing council compare strikingly with the centralizing tendencies of the Constitutional era. Still later in the 1840's when the church divided, the speeches of its leaders seem like echoes from the troubled United States Senate.

In Methodism America found a hardy, optimistic champion of capitalism and republicanism. Asbury and his cohorts became disseminators of American culture and nationalism as they took

the refershing cup and good news into the hinterland. They would have a message for nineteenth century America and nineteenth century America would listen. The anxious days of the Christmas Conference passed, and the Methodists exchanged their corn-crib for a continent.

COVER PICTURE:
ALLEN C. REDWOOD, CONFEDERATE ILLUSTRATOR

According to letters in the Dielman file in the Maryland Historical Society and family interviews, Allen C. Redwood was born in Lancaster County, Virginia, at " Prospect Hill," the home of his maternal grandfather, James Chowning, on June 19, 1844, the oldest son of William Holman and Catherine Carter Redwood. He was educated in private schools in Baltimore and at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, N. Y. At the outbreak of the Civil War he went to Virginia and enlisted in the Confederate army.

Redwood saw service in Company C of the First Maryland Cavalry and the 55th Virginia Infantry, Army of Northern Virginia, acting for a time as a military secretary and staff courier for General L. L. Lomax, under whose command the First Maryland Cavalry was brigaded. During his four-year service he was wounded three times and taken prisoner twice. His experiences at the battle of Second Manassas, his capture, and brief imprisonment at Fortress Monroe were the subject of an article entitled " Jackson's ' Foot-Cavalry ' at the Second Bull Run," which was published in Vol. II of *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols.; New York, 1887.)

After the war Redwood took up illustrating and writing as a profession, working first for lithographers in Baltimore and later for the *Century Magazine* and Harper Publishing Company in New York. He did many drawings and paintings for both his own and other author's articles on the Civil War, many of which found their way into *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. Redwood also contributed articles and sketches for the ten-volume study, *The Photographic History of the Civil War,* published in New York in 1911. Many of his sketches can be found in Confederate military memoirs, among them W. W. Goldsborough's *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865,* Joseph

R. Stonebraker's *A Rebel of '61,* and Thomas Nelson Page's *Two Little Confederates.*

Allen Redwood never married. According to his nephew, John Redwood, Jr., of Baltimore, the last years of his life were spent at "Milbanke" near Port Conway on the Rappahannock River, where he resided with his four cousins, the Strother sisters. Redwood died December 24, 1922, at the home of his brother, Henry Redwood, in Asheville, N. C., and is buried in that city.

While never considered a great artist, Redwood, early in life, exhibited a talent for drawing and sketching. After his removal to New York he numbered among his friends Frederick Remington, Harper Pennington and others well known in the artistic community. Several of his Civil War illustrations were done in oils, working from sketches made previously, either on the scene of action or from memory years later. The two reproduced in this issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are from a collection of 15 prison sketches which were presented to the Maryland Historical Society in 1950 by Mrs. B. Howell Griswold, Jr. While the sketches are not dated, it is probable that they were done after the War. The brick work of the interior scene is typical of the construction of many Federal forts in the decades preceding the Civil War, among them Forts Delaware, Carroll, Sumter and Fortress Monroe. The locality of the cover sketch was Fort Delaware, where it is definitely known Redwood was held and where the murder of one Colonel E. P. Jones, on which there is a Redwood print, occurred.[1]

The cover picture is an interesting print in American social history. The boxing contestants are two Confederate prisoners. Indeed, boxing enthusiasm had been very high in the Ante-Bellum South, the planters' young sons becoming interested in the English practice of the sport and returning to the old South pronounced "fans." Boxing was performed on the plantations and several of the slaves learned the sport from their young masters, some becoming so proficient as to be enabled to buy their freedom. Among America's earliest "champions" were free Negroes.

In the cover print, the use of padded gloves was uncommon in the America of the day, but they were frequently employed in England where they were made official as early as twenty years

[1] Isaac W. K. Handy, *United States Bonds; or Duress by Federal Authority . . .* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 473-474. The illustrations are by A. C. R.

before the two American fighters John L. Sullivan and Domnick McCaffery squared off at Cincinnati on August 29, 1885.[2]

The fight scene is described by the contemporary prisoner Isaac W. Handy in his journal as follows: [3]

> And now came the tug of war, between David and Goliah [*sic*]. 'Old Sussex,' (Capt. Long), game to the back-bone, rough and ready, wild as a bull, wholly unused to gloves, and ere he had adjusted them upon his hands, rushed forward, with an impetuous confidence, which astonished the spectators. Pearson, still firm, fended off; made scientific passes, darted his long arms, with the speed of lightning, into the face, and over the ears of the 'Sussexer,' who, notwithstanding a sore nose covered with a coat of iodine, persistently continued the assault; and now changing his tactics, bent down, plunged forward, and sticking his head into the adbomen of his Goliah, there held fast—pelting right and left, 'unsight and unseen,' into the face, and upon the nose and eyes of the stalwart six-footer, who had defied the ring. It was a game, in which science lost. Little David, untrained, and yet persistent, bore away the palm with unbroken breath. Both, however, were for a few hours, the worse for the fight; for Long had gotten a considerable bruise on the forehead, and Pearson in his efforts to conquer three men, was brought to bay with headache, and short breath.
>
> R. W.
> C. A. P.H.

[2] Alexander Johnston, *Ten-and Out: the Complete Story of the Prize Ring in America* (London, 1928), pp. 1-11; John V. Gromback, *The Saga of Sock* (New York, 1949), p. 57.

[3] Handy, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

III. THE STAR FORT: 1814

By Richard Walsh

1.

1776-1794

IN 1776, Baltimore prepared for attack by the British. Already apprehensive because of threats from the sea by His Majesty's vessel, *Otter,* the Committee of Safety chose Whetstone Point as the best site to defend Baltimore harbor. There some kind of fort was erected during the Revolution and called Fort Whetstone.

Unfortunately the records of the Revolutionary period contain no detailed description of old Fort Whetstone, merely references to its existence. Like Fort McHenry, it was a Star Fort, but badly armed, and when the fighting of the Revolution by-passed Baltimore, it was permitted to deteriorate. In 1794, Rivardi observed that " the Star Fort [Whetstone] never was entirely finished," and its earthen parapets had fallen into the ditch surrounding it. At this time only few outbuildings were standing, and the outer works were decayed. Officials of both state and federal governments were always conscious of the military possibilities of the peninsula,[1] however, and with the rise of Baltimore as a commercial city, the explosions of the French revolutionary wars in Europe and the growing fears of French regicides on the part of the Federalists in power, they moved to revitalize and strengthen the defenses of Baltimore.

Thus, as early as 1794, earnest work commenced in the building of Fort McHenry. Construction proceeded slowly until 1803 when the last building was completed, but the armament of the Star Fort was not finished until the eleventh hour; that is, until just before the British bombardment, September 12-14, 1814. The problem here will be to describe Fort McHenry as it appeared then.

Apparently it has long been thought that John Jacob Ulrich Rivardi was the chief engineer of Fort McHenry, but this is not true. Rivardi was merely to supervise the works under con-

[1] *A. S. P.* I, 88.

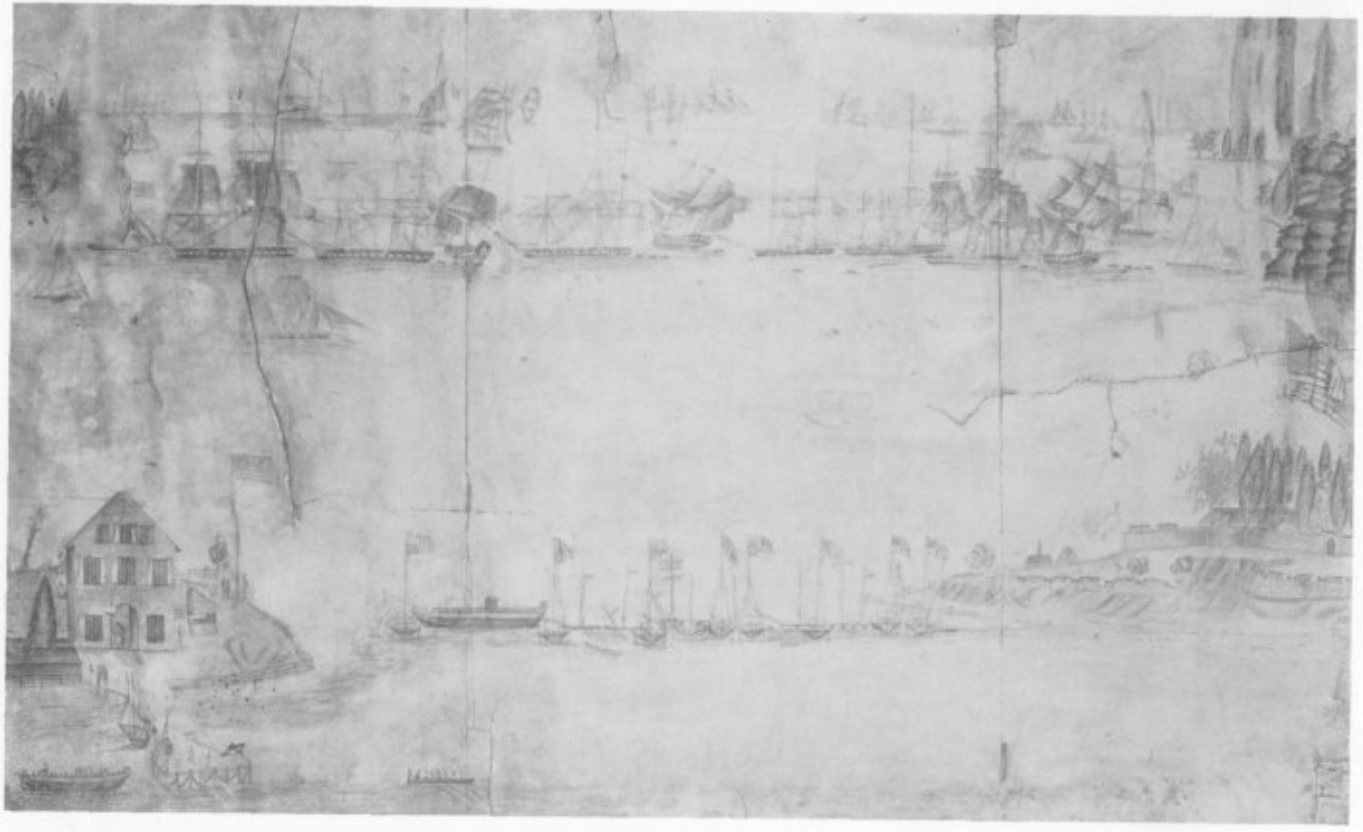

Figure 1. Contemporary painting of the bombardment of Fort McHenry in 1814. The painting has been dated by its primitive style and the careful depiction of Pennsylvania barges. Dulled by time, it is rendered in water-color. The artist is unknown.

Courtesy of Peale Museum.

struction in Baltimore. Moreover, he did not think a Star Fort a proper defense, maintaining, "That kind of redoubt is always bad in itself." [2] Then, long before the completion of the project, he departed for Norfolk where he was to erect fortifications. At least three other engineers, Alexander De Leyritz, Major Tousard and John Foncin, successively followed him and probably are mainly responsible for the erection of the Star Fort. In addition to the professional engineers, such nonprofessionals as Samuel Dodge and Samuel Sterrett, later the head of the naval committee of Baltimore, had a hand in planning the works. Indeed, there was no single architect of the defense. The complaint was even voiced that every mechanic thought of himself as a Vauban, and certainly everyone had access to the master's theories of defense as outlined in his own and his students' textbooks extant at the time. The Star Fort of 1814 was a Vauban style fortification, the kind which so bogged down seventeenth century European warfare.[3]

Fort McHenry was also a republican work. Not only professional laborers but nearly all citizens of the town were enthusiastic about the erection of the Fort. "Young Republican gentlemen" gave their services. Mechanics, units of the militia, and people of color were summoned to work. Fort McHenry, then, truly belonged to the people of Baltimore who readily helped to build and took great pride in it.[4]

2.

SEPTEMBER 12-14, 1814

The Star Fort apparently was completed by the late 1790's, though several of its interior buildings were not finished until 1803. It is well described in the map of 1803 and the Walbach

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Sec. of War Knox to Governor of Maryland, Mar. 23, 1794, Brown Books, 716, IV, 27, H. R.; James McHenry to Major Louis Tousard, July 7, 1798; to Foncin, Mar. 28, 1799, to Jeremiah Zollott *et. al.*, Aug. 31, 1798, to Alexander Hamilton, Nov. 19, 1800, Samuel Dexter to McHenry, May 29, 1800: McHenry Papers. See also microfilm, Accounts of the First Auditor, No. 7152, Fiscal Division, N. A.

[4] *Baltimore Daily Repository*, April 29, May 8, 27, 28, 29, 1794; at Norfolk Rivardi complains that the people lent assistance but were "much less numerous than at Baltimore," *A. S. P.*, I, 88.

map of 1806. Because only a meager amount of work was performed between 1803 and the time of the British attack, it can be assumed that the maps of 1803 and 1806 rather accurately picture it on September 12-14, 1814.[5]

In 1814 the Star Fort was a pentagonal structure of five bastions. It was constructed of stone and brick masonry, using 800 perches of stone for the foundation, 2,300 for the walls of the rampart, 600 for the counterforts, or buttresses (bastions). For the walls. 600,000 bricks were used, and earth amounting to 4,140 cubic *toises* went into the floor (*solid*) of the parapets and banquettes, and the terreplain. The measurements of the Fort are indicated in *toises* (6.39459 feet) on the plan of 1803. The width of the parapets seems to have been 6.5 *toises* (38.71984 feet) and, as described in 1819, the pentagon was only 15 feet relief above the bottom of the surrounding ditch. Changes in the dimensions of the Fort walls were made in 1836-37, when they were raised. Thus, the Fort of 1814 was low-lying, even more so than it is today, especially as seen from the water. The earth of the bastions and parapets was also sodded, as it is at present.[6]

A striking feature of the Star Fort of old was that besides sodding, trees were placed on the bastions. This seemingly strange practice apparently served the double purpose of camouflaging the works and of soaking up dampness which might have made a mud pile of the fortifications. There were in 1814 four trees on the front angle of each bastion, planted about 18 feet apart, two on either side of the angle.[7] The contemporary picture of the Fort shows these trees to have been cedars or poplars, which are known for their consumption of great quantities of water, but which are fragile in high winds.

The ramparts and bastions were reached by means of rising earthen ramps, similar to those existing now.[8] The bastions were poorly armed on the eve of the attack, as was the entire Fort, water batteries included. Guns were without carriages, not in ready position, and also without platforms—this as late as April 2, 1813.

[5] Poussin's Plan (1819); Walbach's Plan (1806); Plan of 1803.

[6] *Ibid.,;* Robert Gilmore to James McHenry, May 6, 1799, McHenry Papers. Department of War, Reports of the Corps of Engineers, Feb. 24, 1819, p. 377; Capt. Smith to S. W., May 5, 1840, enclosure; Gratiot to S. W., Nov. 20, 1835, O. C. E.

[7] Plan of 1803, Walbach's Plan, Gratiot to S. W., Nov. 20, 1835, O. C. E.

[8] *Ibid.*

Thereafter, through the efforts of General Samuel Smith, Colonel George Armistead, and Colonel Decius Wadsworth, the Star Fort was placed in a posture of defense. Guns were made at the arsenals of Levin and White, William and John Price, William Starr and other firms.

By May, 1814 the Fort probably was fully armed. On the five bastions were four thirty-two pounders and fourteen twenty-four pounders. Twelve eighteen pounders on traveling carriages with mobile furnaces were available in event of land attack. These were placed on oak carriages so that they might be swung *en barbette.* They were made of iron and painted, it is assumed, black. To prevent the carriages from sinking in the earth, gun platforms of tough oak plank were erected and raised a few inches above the floor of the bastions. Most likely, furnaces for heating shot were situated near the gun positions.[9]

Aside from these heavy cannon on the bastions, fieldpieces were positioned on the flanks with the infantry, a mistake in armament which Decius Wadsworth pointed out, but which remained uncorrected by the night of the attack. The infantry, armed with pikes and apparently with the other usual accouterments, awaited the British onslaught in a dry moat surrounding the Fort.[10] According to the map of 1803, the ditch was 30 feet wide by 5 feet deep. A narrow drawbridge provided access to the sally port.

After completion of the Star Fort in 1803, several major faults remained, chief of which were that the water batteries and the road from the town were unprotected. Also the Fort's gateway, constructed merely of pine, was weak and could have been smashed at the blow of an axe.

To solve these problems, Decius Wadsworth employed, in 1813, an ancient method used to protect the entrance-way to the fortified cities of Europe. This was the erection of a ravelin before the gateway. It was completed in May, 1813, and was standing on the night of the bombardment.[11]

[9] Smith to John Armstrong, Mar. 18, 1813, April 2, 1813, Lloyd Beall to Armstrong, Mar. 25, 1813, Wadsworth to John Armstrong, April 13, 1813, Letters Received, S. W. Capt. Babcock to S. W., Dec. 1, 1813, enclosure 451, Buell's Collection Miscellaneous Accounts of the War of 1812, Fiscal Division, N. A. *A. S. P.* I, 89.

[10] Wadsworth to Armstrong, April 13, 1813, Letters Received, S. W. Miscellaneous Accounts of the War of 1812, Fiscal Division, N. A.

[11] Wadsworth to Armstrong, April 28, 1813, May 3, 1813 [?] Smith to S. W., May 5, 1840, Letters Received, S. W., Armstrong to Wadsworth, May 3, 1813, Letters Sent, S. W.

Though the ravelin still exists, it has been modified greatly since the War of 1812. Then it was a triangular moundlike structure of earth and brick. It did not contain magazines as it does now. This additional defense, 133 feet on each flank, according to the map of 1803, between the number 2 and 3 bastions, served as a kind of small fort without the main work. Presumably it was as high as the Star Fort bastions. Leading from the town a road of irregular width sliced through the ravelin on the left flank and was connected to the Fort's sally port by the bridge over the ditch.

The armament of the ravelin consisted of a twelve-pounder, apparently intended to sweep the road with shot or to defend against an enemy landing. In all likelihood, the gun was mounted on a traveling carriage placed at the tip of the ravelin, so as to afford clear vision, and it was platformed to prevent rutting the work.

The entrance through the ravelin and the ditch was filled in during alterations made in October, 1839.[12]

As judged by the map of 1803 and further descriptions, the sally port at the time of the attack was a simple opening in the walls of the Fort, about *3 toises* wide. There was no further construction until 1819 when radical alteration took place, including the building of the archway and the addition of bombproofs. The present guard rooms, or dungeons, were added later.[13]

Theoretically the magazine should have been of vital importance in the defenses of the Fort. It was, however, of little use during the British pounding. Indeed, it was a dangerous liability, for its capacity was 300 barrels of powder, but it was not bombproof. Thus only Providence saved the Fort. During the attack, the magazine was struck but did not explode. In 1814 the exterior of the magazine was 20 feet wide and 37 feet long. The interior measurements were 10 feet by 26 feet. The walls were of brick and the roofing of wooden shingles. The roof was not arched, and it was described as being without a lightning rod.[14]

Concern for the safety of the men led to several improvements in the Fort after the attack, and obviously the unserviceable and

[12] Plan of 1803, Walbach's Plan, Poussin's Plan.

[13] *Ibid.* Reports of the Third Auditor, Account Nos. 3479, 997, 1644, 6360, 7054, 4620, 3931 indicate a more elaborate gateway erected in 1818. Thomas J. Lee to Maj. Gen. Jesup, July 10, 1835, Box 633, C. C. F. indicated conclusively that the present sally port with its rooms and dungeons was completed by 1835.

[14] Lee H. Nelson, "The Powder Magazine, Fort McHenry," unpublished report, N. P. S., H. A. R. P.

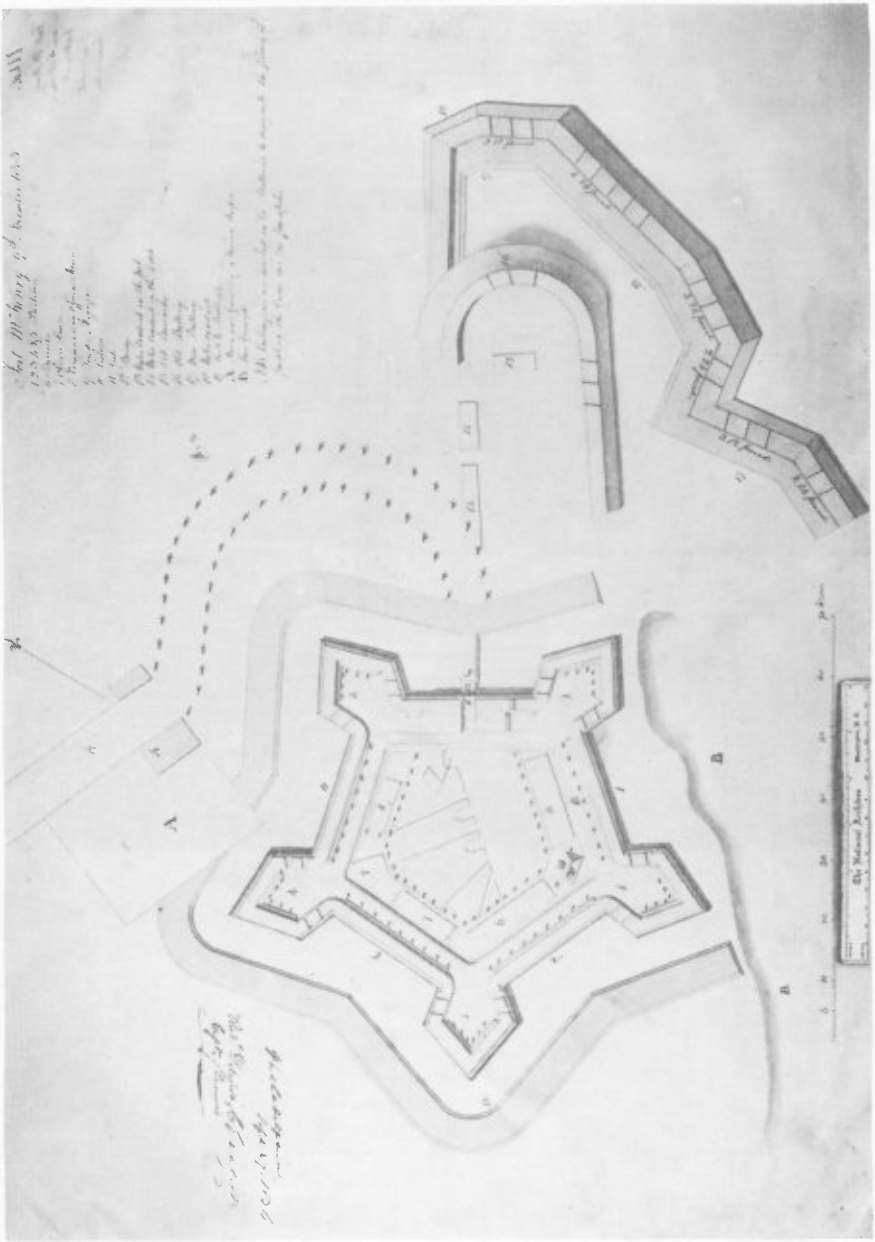

Figure 2. Plan of 1803, the most important of all the maps of Fort McHenry, as there were few changes in the Star Fort between its completion in 1803 and 1814. This map was employed by the Capt. of engineers, Richard Delafield in 1836 when he undertook one of the many extensive changes in the Fort after 1814. Delafield's signature appears in the upper left hand corner.

Courtesy of the National Archives.

Figure 3. Excavated cellar fire place in Building E.
Courtesy of the National Park Service.

dangerous magazine was high on the list. As early as the spring of 1813, two traverses had been recommended, one for the

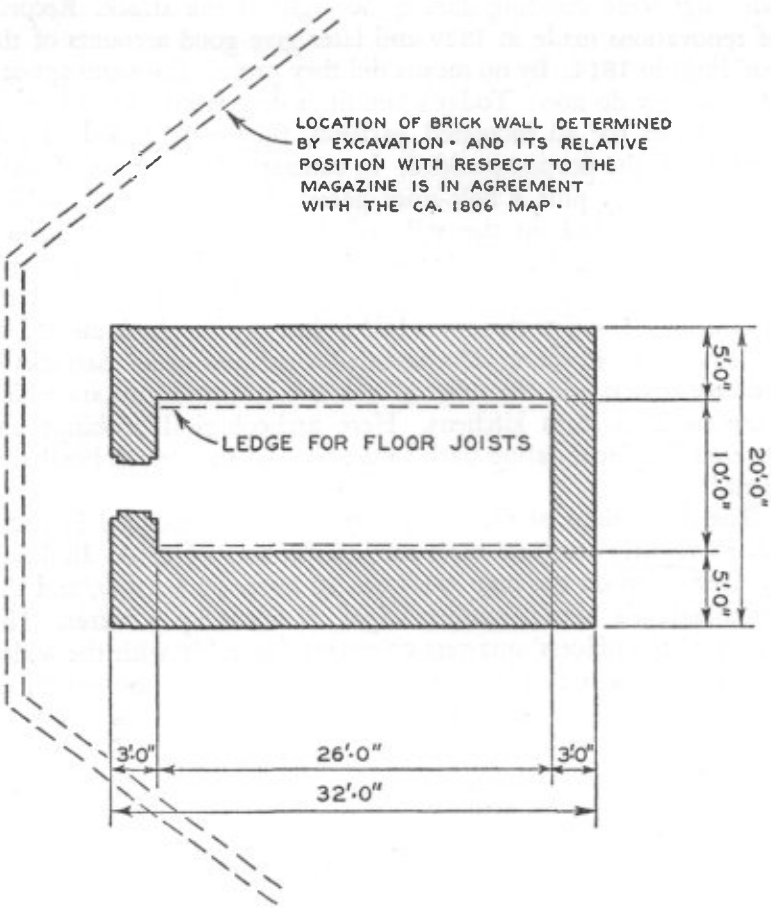

Figure 4. Plan of the magazine in 1814. The dimensions were determined by architectural, archeological, and historical research. The magazine, after the British attack, was greatly altered.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

protection of the magazine and the other to stand before the sally port. The ravelin seems adequately to have substituted for the traverse at the sally port, but the one for the magazine does

not seem to have been built before the bombardment, a supposition supported by archeological and architectural evidence.[15]

The quarters for the personnel were completed by 1803. Four buildings were standing during the night of the attack. Records of renovations made in 1829 and later give good accounts of the buildings in 1814. By no means did they present the same appearance as they do now. Today's buildings date from 1829 when, to make room for an increased garrison, they were raised to two stories and the porticoes added. In contrast, the quarters of 1814 were one story plus a half-story garret. The roofs were gabled and shingled and, in the style of the 18th century, contained dormer windows. Originally the enlisted mens' barrack number 1 was 91 feet long by 22 feet wide, with the interior of the garret unfinished. The first floor was laid in heavy pine plank instead of the brick now in place. Documents on enlisted mens' barracks E indicate that it and the officers' quarters contained cellars which were used as mess kitchens. Here archeological probings uncovered fireplaces dating back to the time of the British bombardment.[16]

The dimensions of the officers' quarters are described in 1829, but so vaguely that one must turn to the map of 1803. Building number seven on the map measures 10 *toises* by 3 *toises*, and the commandant's house, number eight, 9 *toises* by 3 *toises*. The width of the officers' quarters compares favorably with the width of 18 feet given in a document of 1829, as does the length of building seven, placed at 61 feet in 1829.[17]

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Plan of 1803, Poussin's Plan. Henry Burbeck to Samuel Dyson, July 16, 1802, Box 633; Account of Lt. Walbach, 1 May—4 Sept., 1805, Box 630; H. W. Fitzhugh to Jesup, Mar. 11, 1826, Box 633; S. B. Dusenbury to Jesup, Feb. 24, 1829; Major T. Cross to Jesup, April 22, 1829; J. R. Fenwick to Jesup, May 23, 1829; E. K. Barnum to Major T. Cross, Nov. 11, 1836; J. R. Fenwick to Jesup, June 4, 1836; Special estimate of materials, *c.* Jan. 9, 1836, of Lt. Thomas J. Lee; T. J. Lee to Jesup, Nov. 19, 1834, Oct. 1, 1835: Box 633: C. C. F.

Fitzhugh to Jesup, Nov. 11, 1824, Nov. 18, 1824, June 12, 1822, Dec. 3, 1824, April 5, 1825, Letters Received, Quartermaster General, R. G. 92, N. A.

Report of Fortifications, Dec. 2, 1811, Miscellaneous Papers, 1789-1831, Hindeman to Lt. G. Blaney, Ap. 20, 1819, communications to the Secretary of War, I, 253, Baltimore, District Engineers Office, Letters Sent, V. 246, Smith to S. W., May 5, 1840 (enclosure), Thompson to Gratiot, Mar. 14, 1839, Hindeman to Smith, July 14, 1819: O. C. E.

The restoration of the 1930's restored the buildings to their condition of 1836 not 1814. See Adj. Gen. to Mrs. Albert F. Olson, Feb. 13, 1934, General Information File, Fort McHenry, N. A.

[17] *Ibid.;* also Hindeman to Armistead, Mar. 17, 1819, O. C. E.

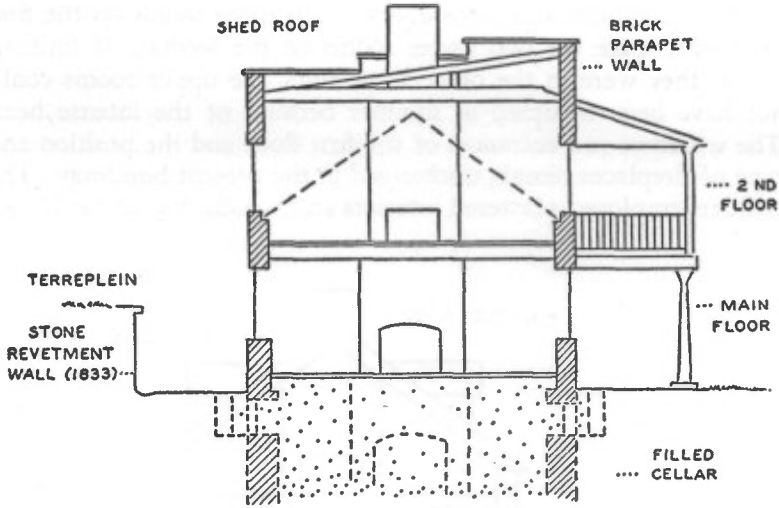

Figure 5. Enlisted men's barrack D of the present time.
Courtesy of the National Park Service.

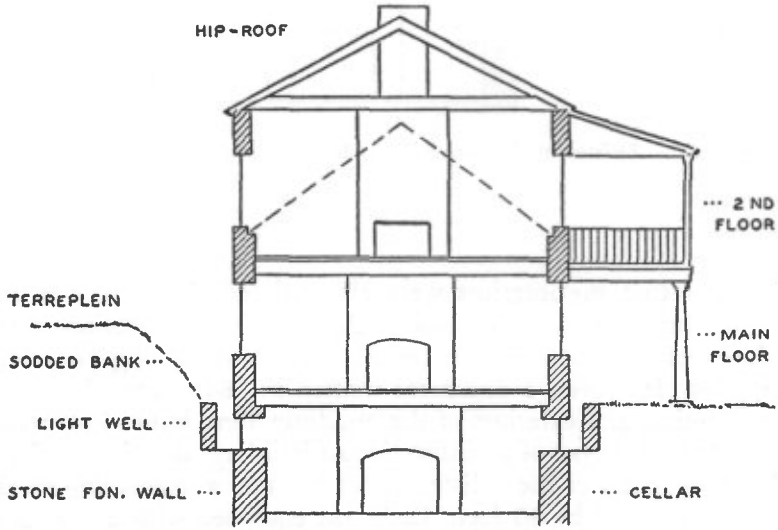

Figure 6. Enlisted men's barrack D, after the major alterations of 1829.
Courtesy of the National Park Service.

All of the buildings were divided into three rooms on the first floor,with space for two garret rooms on the second. If finished off, as they were in the officers' quarters, the upper rooms could not have been occupied in summer because of the intense heat. The windows and entrances of the first floor and the position and type of fireplaces remain unchanged in the present buildings. The builders employed plastered interiors and woodwork, and evidence

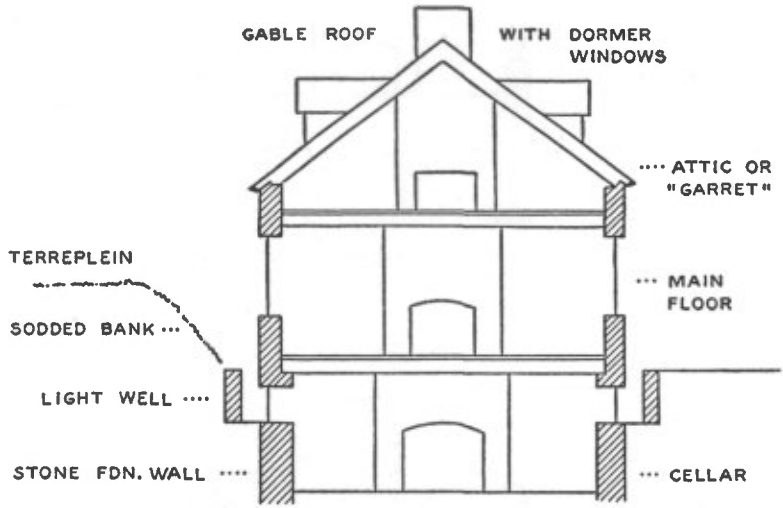

Figure 7. Enlisted men's barrack D, in 1814, showing gable roof, dormer windows, garret, and cellar.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

indicates that the interiors were also painted. The color is unknown but probably was white. Apparently the exteriors were whitewashed, since this material is common among the Fort supplies. However, a document written in 1845 states that both the interiors and exteriors of the buildings were in need of paint.

In 1834, a report of an inspection of buildings describes each of the three rooms of the enlisted men's barracks as measuring about 20 feet [18″ ?] by 30 feet. Each was equipped with a fireplace. The measurements of the five rooms in each of the officers' quarters are never clearly described. A diagram of 1845 indicates

that the buildings were divided in thirds, with two finished rooms in the garret and one room partitioned with pine planks.[18]

Life at the Fort was rugged, especially for enlisted men. In time of peace more than sixty men and officers were stationed at the Fort. With about thirty enlisted men assigned to each barrack,

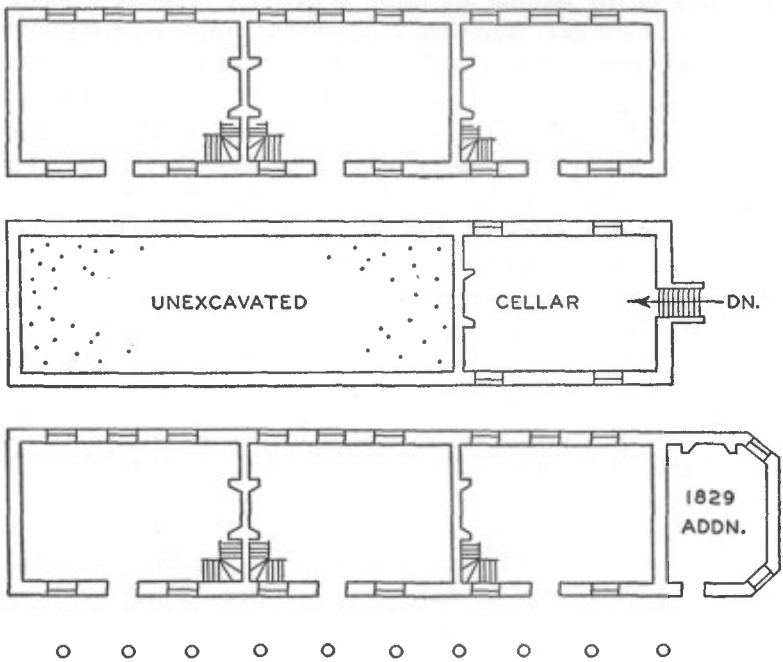

Figure 8. Building D, soldiers' barrack. The first two illustrations, from the top, show the main and cellar floor plans in 1814. The third is the floor plan of 1834 showing an additional room and porticoes.

Courtesy of the National Park Service.

there was little space per soldier. Frequent mention is made of the unhealthfulness of the buildings, and it was mainly this condition which led to the various renovations after the bombardment. Finally, because of the high incidence of fevers and viruses, the Fort was evacuated annually during the worst part of the season. The practice began after the 1830's.

[18] *Ibid.;* also Fitzhugh to Jesup, Ap. 15, 1822; S. B. Dusenbury to Col. H. Slayton, Oct. 22, 1845, Box 633, C. C. F.

Probably the enlisted men's barracks were sparsely furnished. Soldiers of the period usually slept on straw mattresses on the floor. Scarcely were the McHenry rooms large enough for bunk beds, though these were used at such established posts as West Point. The mess kitchens contained tables and benches, and often mentioned in the records are camp kettles for fireplace cooking. The type of mess gear employed is unknown; possibly the common soldier used pewter plates and mugs as well as knives and forks.

The junior officers' quarters housed two subalterns usually, and also the surgeon with his cure-alls and medicines. The building, sometimes used by the latter as a hospital, must have been even more crowded than the barracks, with the addition of furnishings such as bedsteads, crockery, and other personal belongings which often were shipped from post to post with the officers.

Doubtless the commandant's quarters were the most commodious of all. Not only did the furnishings of the times grace his rooms, but since his quarters contained his office, a desk or a writing table for military business was used.[19]

Little record remains of the guard house. According to the map of 1803, none was in the Fort, but one appears on the 1806 map. There is also record, in 1805, of a wooden sentry box, possibly standing near the sally port. On July 7, 1813, Armistead expressed his need for building a " proper guard house," but his request does not seem to have been fulfilled. Thus the guard house appearing on the 1806 map, and also on the 1819 plan, is probably the one that stood during the battle.[20]

The original position of the flagstaff has been uncovered by recent archeological search. At the position of the staff shown on the map of 1803, the archeologist found:

> At a depth of approximately seven feet six inches . . . dark-colored, massive, obviously old timbers, the braces or step of a flag staff. . . .

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[19] *A. S. P.*, I, 45-60; Bunberry to William Simmons, Oct. 26, 1813, Letters Received, Accountant of the War Dept., Fiscal Division, N. A. Thomas Cushing to Marschalk, Aug. 28 and Nov. 8, 1799, Letter Book of Major Thomas Cushing, July 14, 1799—Mar. 11, 1800, Ms, Post Revolutionary File, N. A.; Jacobs, *Beginning of the U. S. Army*, pp. 257-279; Dusenbury to Slayton, Oct. 22, 1845, Box 633, C. C. F.

[20] Armistead to Armstrong, July 7, 1813, Letters Received, S. W.; account of Lt. Walbach, 1 May—Sept. 4, 1805, Box 630, C. C. F. Plan of 1803, Poussin's and Walbach's Plans.

These timbers consist of two planks, probably oak, one mortised upon the other at right angles, and provided with a socket nine inches square at the intersection, passing through both, to receive a tenon, part of the heel or butt of a staff.

Subsequent findings gave sufficient evidence to indicate that this is the position of the flag and staff during the bombardment of September 14, 1814.[21] On the basis of these historical and archeological findings, the flagstaff has been reconstructed and placed in the position it held in 1814. Thus far this is the only part of the Fort properly restored.

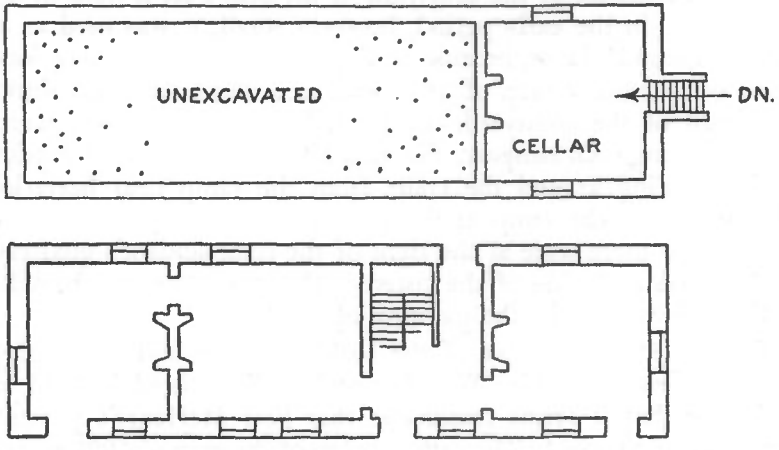

Figure 9. Building C, Officers Quarters, cellar and main floor plans, 1834.
Courtesy of the National Park Service.

Until the mid-century water supply was a constant problem at the Fort, water often being purchased from the town. The map of 1803 shows a cistern placed near building number 6, before the number 1 bastion. The map of 1819 indicates one in that position, and a still later map of 1837 places a pump house in the same place. Undoubtedly in 1814 a cistern existed. Probably measuring 5 by 3.5 *toises,* it is shown in the map of 1803 with a gabled roof. In all probability it was only one story in height and constructed of brick.[22]

[21] G. Hubert Smith, "Archeological Explorations at Fort McHenry, 1958," unpublished report, N. P. S., H. A. R. P., pp. 55-63.

[22] Plan of 1803, Poussin's Plan; Map of 1837, Drawer 51, Sheet 9, Cartography Division, N. A.

Two water conduits are indicated on the map of 1803. One is drawn under the Fort's walls behind barracks number six, while another is shown in the ditch slightly to the left of the point of number five bastion. The map of 1819 also shows what appears to be a conduit in the same location as the one behind the number six barracks in 1803. A conduit also appears here on the 1837 map. The conduits probably were utilized for drainage purposes.[23]

The appearance of the courtyard of the Star Fort is difficult to determine. In the early period, however small, it was used as a parade ground. Later, because of the limited area, marching was done outside. The map of 1819 and subsequent drawings show no detail of the courtyard. In 1803, however, nine trees were planted along each rampart. Placed a few feet before the barracks and extending around the court from the ramp near barracks number six to the ramp at the right of the sally port were 34 trees. Two more were at the right of the commandant's quarters and one on each side of the cistern. That the place was heavily foliaged is verified by the painting of 1814.

In the 1850's, in front of the buildings were laid brick sidewalks, a few feet wide. Whether such walks existed in 1814 is unknown, but it seems reasonable that Fort McHenry's present walkways are correct. The cartographer of the map of 1803 seems to have shown something of the kind before the buidings.[24]

The original map of 1803 in the National Archives depicts one half of the courtyard in green, with pathways leading to the various buildings. Obviously this coloring was meant to convey some kind of grass landscaping. The other half of the inside grounds remains uncolored.

The Star Fort of 1959, therefore, is far different from the fortress of 1814. The ditch has long ago disappeared; the bastions and ramparts which Francis Scott Key immortalized have been raised. The ravelin has been greatly altered, and the sally port, which it protected, has been elaborately changed. Inside the Fort the buildings have been so enlarged that they have little resemblance to those of the days of Armistead's command. Their

[23] A later Map, Drawer 51, Sheet 5, shows that the conduit behind the barracks is a sewer. Also, Thompson to Gratiot, June 20, 1834, Jan. 9, 1835, Letters Received, O. C. E.

[24] Langdon to Mott, Aug. 12, 1884, Gen. Order No. 2, Baltimore District Engineer's Office, Letters Received, O. C. E.

interiors, without cellars and garrets, mess kitchens or other equipment, are unauthentic. The trees and other plantings have long since disappeared. The cistern is gone, and the Fort today is mostly armed with weapons of the Civil War period.

As it stands today Fort McHenry presents the appearance of *an early American fort*, but the date of *this* fort can generally be fixed as being between 1824 and 1837, long after its finest hour. Indeed, by the 1830's it was considered obsolete and had been superseded by Fort Carroll as a first line of defense. In subsequent wars it was used as a prison for Confederates, for training purposes, and as a general hospital in World War I.

Thus the Star Fort of 1959 is only the site at which the bombardment was levelled. In appearance it is not the Fort about which Key wrote, nor that in which Colonel Armistead withstood the onslaught of the British, nor is it "the home of the Star Spangled Banner."

SIDELIGHTS

SOME LETTERS OF ANNA SURRATT

Edited by ALFRED ISACSSON

Anna Surratt was the third child born to John Harrison and Mary (Jenkins) Surratt. Her birth in 1849 had been preceded by that of her two brothers, Isaac Douglas and John Harrison, Jr. When Anna attended Saint Mary's Female Institution, run by Miss Martin at Bryantown, Md., one of her fellow students was Elisabeth Louise Stone. Louise Stone, as Anna Surratt addressed her in her letters, was the daughter of Matthew Alexander and Elisabeth Louise (Davis) Stone and had been born on August 30, 1846, in Saint Mary's County, Md.

Anna Surratt and Louise Stone became good friends. Two of the letters we present here were written to Miss Stone when she was still at the Bryantown school. Possibly she was still a student there when Anna wrote her the third letter from Surrattsville.[1]

After Anna left the school of Miss Martin, she went to live with her family at Surrattsville where her father was the postmaster and also owned a combination general store and tavern. As we learn from one of these letters of Anna Surratt, her father died in August, 1862. The family moved to a house they owned on H Street in Washington during October of 1864. The destruction of their farm caused by the foraging of Union troops quartered in their area prompted this removal.

Due to her son John's involvements with John Wilkes Booth Mrs. Surratt was accused of implication in the President's assassination. Arrested as a witness who could possibly shed some light on the events preceding this crime, she was shuffled among the other conspirators, included in their speedy trial and condemned to death with three of them.

Today, no serious scholar doubts her innocence, though occasionally there will appear a text book or general work which depicts her as watching over " the nest that hatched the egg." Nothing has been done officially to clear her name.

Anna Surratt had been arrested and taken to the Old Capitol Prison along with her mother. Anna did what she could to provide for her comfort while in prison and on trial. The day her mother was to be

[1] This is gauged from a Card of Approbation in amiable deportment, improvement in studies, neatness and needle work issued to Louise Stone for the term ending February 22, 1861. She also received a Card as a testimony of application to and general improvement in the Division of the 4th class English studies, music, French and needle work on July 16, 1861. Both of these Cards are in the possession of Mrs. Alice Behrendt, Sandy Springs, Md.

hanged, she was prevented from seeing President Johnson by his secretary, General Mussey, who said that the President gave orders he would see no one. Still hoping to get to him in time for a last plea for clemency, Anna sat for several hours in the East Room of the White House on that morning of July 7, 1865.

Some time after the death of her mother, Anna married Dr. William P. Tonry, and they made their home in Baltimore. Her repeated efforts finally secured a decent burial for her mother in Mount Olivet Cemetery in Washington.[2] When she died in 1917, Anna Surratt was buried beside her mother.[3]

Miss Louise Stone's sister, Mrs. Alice (Stone) Camallier, died at the age of forty, leaving several children whom Louise Stone proceded to rear. To two of these children, Mrs. Louise (Camallier) Mac Kavanagh and Mrs. Alice (Camallier) Behrendt, she gave these letters written to her by Anna Surratt. At present these letters are in the possession of Mrs. Alice Behrendt, Sandy Springs, Md., who has kindly consented to their publication and to whom we are indebted for this information about her aunt, Miss Louise Stone.

Spelling, capitalization and punctuation are as in the originals. *Sic* appears only where the meaning is not clear.

St. Mary's F.[emale] Institute[4]
Mar. 17th, 1861.

My dear Louisa,

You must not think because I did not answer your sweet little note, that I do not love you. You know I have always loved you, and I am sure my actions are a testimony of the fact. I hope our love is not that of mere school girls but I hope it will be as strong when we are laid in our graves as it is to day. I have a great way of fooling with those I *love* to try their love for me. I hope, Louisa, you understand me use this. But let us turn to a subject more agreable. [sic] Have you made a resolution to be very good during the Retreat. As for me, I think my future salvation will depend upon the manner I make it. Give my love to Ida Howard and tell her not to forget and tell you that name. This is such a poor note that I have half made up my mind not to send it. I have to keep one eye on Miss Essender and the other on the paper. I beg you not to let any one see this.

Mind, I will find out if you do.

Good bye. I am
Yours truly
Anna Surratt.

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[2] *Cf.* her letter to President Johnson and his reply of February 5, 1869, Library of Congress, A. Johnson Papers, Portfolio F, 1, 11, D 1.

[3] This and some of the other information about Anna Surratt comes from an undated newspaper clipping, "Mrs. Mary Surratt's Daughter Dead," in the possession of Mrs. Alice Behrendt.

[4] When this letter is folded, there appears on the outer fold, "Miss Louisa Stone, Present.' This is written in pencil as is the remainder of the letter, except for the

St. Mary's F.[emale] Institute [5]
April 23rd, 1861.

My dearest Louise,

Your little note was graciously received Sunday last—it was very interesting—only a little too short. I hope the next one will be much longer. The thoughts of War have distracted me so much today that I was unable to study—not was so much as the "Loved One" that I know is engaged—but I hope God will protect him. Louise please study diligently and get-head of your classes. *I know you can if you will.* It makes me so angry to see anyone above you. I think you perform very well on the Piano considering the short time you have been taking lessons. The Distribution is only three months off, and I know *your Bud* will be overjoyed to see *his Lis* come off so well. Give my respects to that Ida Howard, and tell her I have no love for her at present—until she answers my note, anyhow. I am afraid the carriage has blown away and Miss Winnie and our dear Miss Josie have left us. I expect Miss Josie will see your Dominic today and cut you out. I am very glad Henry is not at home. Do not forget Orion, The Eagle, Bird of Paradise etc. I have given someone else the name of Orpheus—the sweetest person I have ever seen. Give my love to Estel Gardiner and tell her I will answer her soon. Poor Isaac! [6] I never expect to hear from him any more. I wish Texas had been annihilated before he thought of going there. I suppose your optical nerves are quite worn out with this nonsense—therefore I will stop. Answer this and do not be dilatory.

Wishing you every success—I remain
Your sincere and devoted friend
Anna Surratt
"Enfant de Marie."

place which is in ink. On the outside fold there also appears in ink, "Miss Fannie Morgan." One word is underlined as above and the spellings are as in the original.

[5] On the upper part of this letter there is written in a hand other than that of Anna Surratt, "Willia Stone
William H. Stone
Donegama Hotel
Canada E[ast]"

In the text of the letter this hand has written in, "Willill." On the bottom of the letter there is written in this same hand, "*Penses—à—moi.*" William Stone was the brother of Louise Stone.

This letter is written in ink and has an extra 1 in the beginning, diligently crossed out.

[6] This is Anna's brother who joined the Pony Express riding between Matamoras, Texas and Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1861.

Surrattsville, Md.[7]
Sept. 16th, 1862.

Dearest Friend,

Though your letter came later than I expected, yet it gave me great pleasure. Since I last wrote to you death has entered our portals and taken one of the most cherished inmates—my beloved Father—Oh Louise! I will not attempt to depict here the anguish the deep grief that almost burst my heavy heart's Strings when I looked upon my father after death and knew that he could not hear or see me. The suddenness of his death has almost caused me to frown upon the will of a Just God. Poor Pa has been dead four weeks this morning. If I can obtain a paper with his obituary I will send it to you. The evening previous to his death we did not retire until quite late and he was even more animated than usual, talking of politics etc.—we had a gentleman from *across the Potomac* at the time spending a few days with us and he was giving us great encouragement—Under such circumstances, Louise, what would have been your feelings to be awakened just at the dawn of day to attend the death bed of a parent, or rather to behold a dead Father? I hope you will never experience such a calamity, unless you are blessed with more resignation and [sic] I. We hoped at first that he was paralyzed and that reason would be restored—but the Doctors knew that he was dead and were afraid to tell us—they even helped to make applications. And what renders his death more painful poor John [8] was not at home—I will make no allusion to Isaac for we have not heard from him since the out break of the terrible War. It makes me so sorry to think poor Pa did not live to see the glorious Banner of Southern Liberty unfurled and planted upon the shores of Maryland—it was what he long desired. You must excuse this letter as I am unusually nervous. I intend to leave home to spend some time in Washington.—I will leave to morrow. You must write soon—Your letters will be sent to me immediately.

Please send me your picture. I know you do not want mine in such a dismal color as Black. I hope you will soon hear from your Brother. Tell Ida to write to me now.

Good bye, dearest Louise,

I remain—

Your *sincere* friend
Anna

What caused you to study so long over my last letter?—please tell me. I think it is only an excuse for not answering.

A S

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[7] Written in ink, this letter has a black border on the first page. Notice the presence of many dashes. The hand is rather unsteady especially towards the end. "Or" in the sixth line of the letter is "of" in the original but Anna Surratt has crossed this out and written in "or."

[8] It is difficult to determine whether John Surratt was still at Saint Charles College at the time of his father's death. The College was located in those days at Ellicott City, Md. *Cf.* Helen J. Campbell to A. Isacsson, Yorktown, Va., March 15, 1957.

If he had left Saint Charles at that date, his absence from home could possibly have been due to his courier work for the Confederacy.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution, 1760-1776. By DAVID S. LOVEJOY. Providence: Brown University Press, 1958. 256. $4.50.

Here is a book which will appeal to many tastes. The reader will find *Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution* worth his time and effort whether he is a scholar searching for insights into the origins of the Revolution, or an historian who believes that local monographs can help to clarify quesions of national significance, or a layman who suspects that " the good old days " of virtue and integrity never really existed.

For more than a dozen years, from the late 1750's until 1770, Rhode Island politics was dominated by a bitter and intense struggle between two factions for control of the colony's political machinery. One group, led by Samuel Ward of Newport, drew most of its strength from the southern counties. The other, led by Stephen Hopkins, depended upon Providence and the northern counties. Annually, they fought for the governorship and control of the legislature. Virtually no holds were barred, and victory in the elections went to whichever side gathered the most money and the largest quantities of rum. Each side won just often enough for the system to prove profitable to everyone concerned. The victors would throw out the incumbent judges and sheriffs and fill the vacancies with their own gang. Until their turn came to be dispossessed, the members of the winning faction would shift the burden of taxes onto the towns which had voted for the enemy, and would steal from the public treasury, confident that officials of their own choosing would not bother them.

Political factionalism, however, according to the author, was really nothing but a family quarrel which was patched up in time for the colony to present a united front against attacks from outside. Rhode Island—and this is Lovejoy's central thesis—was in the forefront of the Revolutionary movement because factional government paid such high dividends that the two factions united against Great Britain to defend the charter under which they flourished.

In order to reconstruct these annual vote-buying orgies, the author has combed a vast quantity of published and manuscript material, including government records and personal correspondence. Certain aspects of his thesis, however, seem to require further thought and research.

The author believes that a large proportion of adult males in Rhode Island were legally eligible to vote. As he points out, however, relatively few people actually bothered to vote despite the vigorous campaign which the factions conducted annually. He suggests that each side avoided blasting non-voters out of their lethargy for fear that an increased

electorate would raise the costs of buying future elections. Such self-restraint, however, would require either greater foresight or closer co-operation between the two factions than the author leads the reader to believe existed. The author's reasoning upon the franchise seems dubious in other ways, as well. On the one hand, for instance, he suggests that the absence of complaints about the franchise in the pre-Revolutionary years provides evidence that the franchise was broad. But then he goes on to discuss the admittedly undemocratic and "outmoded system of representation," about which no one complained, either!

A still more serious problem is posed by the fact that Rhode Island factionalism largely died out following the election of 1770, before anti-British sentiment aroused widespread and continuous support in Rhode Island. In other words, the author's thesis leaves Rhode Islanders flocking into the Revolutionary camp in the mid 1770's to protect a political system which they had already abandoned. At least one other aspect of the chronology of the Revolutionary movement deserves more careful attention. Despite the author's frequent emphasis upon Rhode Island's leadership, other colonies, such as Massachusetts, were generally abreast of Rhode Island and in some instances were ahead in developing both the techniques and the rationale of opposition to British authority. And yet, Massachusetts had neither factional government to the extent that Rhode Island did nor did she have as liberal a charter.

Although not all colonies took the same path to Independence, the author's emphasis upon the ways in which Rhode Island *differed* may obscure many important and significant similarities. If Rhode Island's path is partially illuminated by a study of the Ward-Hopkins controversy, it might be lit still more brightly by a study of town meeting government. It is unfortunate that in the author's extensive bibliography there is no evidence that he used town records. Devotion to political self-government on the local level and the extensive political maturity which the town meeting fostered were common to all of the New England colonies. More people would likely have come into the Revolutionary camp in the mid 1770's out of fear of the loss of local self-government than out of devotion to factionalism. There is ample evidence that the town meeting and its fruits were still very much alive as the Revolutionary movement developed in Rhode Island. Perhaps fortunately for the cause of the Revolution, even if not for the thesis of this book, Rhode Island factionalism was no longer active by this time.

Despite these aspects of pre-Revolutionary Rhode Island politics which require further attention, both the author and the Brown University Press deserve praise for producing a work of local history which should interest not simply the antiquarian but the historian as well.

ROBERT A. FEER

Wellesley College

E. L. Godkin and American Foreign Policy, 1865-1900. By WILLIAM M. ARMSTRONG. New York: Bookman Associates, 1957. 268. $5.

Personal journalism happily is a thing of the past. The American press now suffers from ills of quite a different kind. In the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, however, it still flourished, although its heyday had passed, it is true. Editors no longer horsewhipped their rivals in the public streets and they were caned less often by outraged subscribers. Even so, most of the other unlovely manifestations of editorial personality had suffered little decline. To cite some of the more conspicuous: inconsistency, idiosyncrasy, prejudice, a flair for invective, a feuding spirit, a casual regard for the laws of libel.

Edwin Lawrence Godkin was personal journalist to America's intellectual elite, from 1865 to 1900 as editor of the weekly *Nation* and from 1883 as editor also of the daily New York *Evening Post.* He aimed at a small but select group, the Knickerbocker aristocrat and his Brahmin counterpart. To this genteel audience Godkin and his gifted associates poured forth a torrent of opinion on every subject likely to appeal to gentlemanly tastes and well-educated interest in public affairs.

He was well fitted to speak to such an audience. Anglo-Irish by birth, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, Belfast-educated, he had aspirations towards the aristocracy, and found himself much at ease in Brahmin society. He possessed a lofty moral sense, which was sure of appeal to the intellectual leaders of the recent crusade against slavery. He had a lifelong addiction to the economics of Bentham and Mill, which found a congenial climate among Yankee merchants. He was a fervent Anglophile. Here again his appeal was certain, for of all Americans his chosen audience had the closest ties with England.

Godkin, however, was not one to cater slavishly to the prejudices of his audience. Such would run against the perverse credo of the personal journalist. Like many of his kind he felt compulsion to be a professional gadfly, stinging men in public office. He felt an equal compulsion to be otherwise-minded, even if it meant libel suits and loss of readers. He often went out of his way to shock his genteel audience, although seldom on matters of economics.

William A. Armstrong, of Washington College in Chestertown, has written a careful study of Godkin on foreign affairs. In this field as in national politics little escaped Godkin's notice. Almost every aspect of American diplomacy from the Civil War to the turn of the century came in for praise or censure, largely the latter. Professor Armstrong patiently traces the convolutions of Godkin's thought in the episodes of a disjointed period of American diplomacy: major ones such as Maximilian in Mexico, the *Alabama* claims, the Venezuela boundary crisis; minor ones such as the *Virginius,* the *Baltimore* riot and Minister Egan's woes in Chile, the all-but-forgotten Barrundia affair. Curiously, he passes lightly over the Spanish-American War, remarking that Godkin's bitter opposition to it is sufficiently well-known.

Professor Armstrong wisely does not attempt to find a common denomi-

nator in Godkin's views on foreign affairs. With a subject of such volatile temperament this would be self-defeating. But it is impossible to follow Professor Armstrong's meticulous analysis of episode after episode without noting the recurrence of certain themes. One is the persistence of economic motives. Time and again Godkin revealed the commercial consideration behind the moral principle, so much so that Henry Adams accused him of identifying morality with vested interests. Mexican intervention would be expensive; so would governing Caribbean islands; disputes with England depressed the price of stocks; colonialism was incompatible with free trade; unrestricted Chinese immigration was desirable as a source of cheap labor; and so on.

Another is pride of race. Godkin was as fervent a believer in Anglo-Saxon superiority as any advocate of Manifest Destiny. To him civilization had reached its zenith in the white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon society then existing in England, and in New England. But unlike them he had no taste for the white man's burden. Rather, he dreaded the difficulty, and the cost, of ruling other peoples.

Still another theme is Anglophilia. This was not invariably the case at the outset of an Anglo-American controversy but eventually Godkin worked around to defense of the British position. Like most of his other subjectivities, this tendency became more pronounced in his later years, as he became increasingly disillusioned with America. It shows up not only in direct clashes of interest such as the Venezuelan boundary controversy but even in situations such as the civil war in Chile, where Great Britain was involved only to a negligible extent.

It should be remembered, as Professor Armstrong reminds us, that Godkin was not invariably a capricious and destructive critic. He was on occasion a vigorous if not always coherent advocate of causes, most notably anti-imperialism. In fact, Godkin often reached what many, including later historians, considered the right result. Characteristically, he reached it more often than not for what they considered the wrong reasons.

This brings up inevitably the question of Godkin's influence. Professor Armstrong does not take this up with direct reference to foreign affairs, although in an early chapter he gives attention to Godkin's general influence on his public. The latter in turn well may be overstated. The temptation is strong to ascribe influence to him because of his audience. He spoke, it is true, to an intellectual elite, but to what extent did that elite have political power? To what extent was it even in sympathy with its own age? He was widely read, it is true, by other editors, but how much significance should be attached to this in an age of independent and personal journalism?

Foreign policy has so many aspects peculiar to itself that separate analysis of Godkin's influence in this separate field would seem in order. What effect, for example, did he have on those in power? For one thing, as a free trader, Godkin was at an immediate disadvantage with the men who ran America. Bearing in mind the President's broad constitutional authority in foregin affairs, it is suggestive that Godkin was at odds with

all Presidents except, for a while, Hayes and Cleveland. Bearing in mind the influence of an active and imaginative Secretary of State, it is equally suggestive that he carried on a rancorous personal vendetta against Blaine.

This should not be allowed, however, to obscure the fact that Professor Armstrong has given us a fine workmanlike study, ably analyzing and illuminating the ideas and opinions of a significant figure in Nineteenth Century American journalism. It is, incidentally, a study which is noticeably better written than the generality of its kind.

CHARLES A. SULLIVAN

U. S. State Department

A Yankee Jeffersonian: Selections from the Diary and Letters of William Lee of Massachusetts Written from 1796 to 1840. Edited by MARY LEE MANN. With a forword by ALLAN NEVINS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. xvii, 312 pp. $5.75.

For most of his adult life William Lee acted on the periphery of American political life. Never elected to public office, he contented himself with minor political appointments in France and in Washington. Born in 1772 in Nova Scotia either he or his parents (the point is not clarified) resisted the cause of British loyalism, and young Lee was sent to school at Phillips Andover. At the age of 18 he entered the business community in Boston and was evidently well enough regarded to have won the hand of the daughter of William Palfrey, formerly Washington's aide-de-camp and paymaster general of the Continental army.

In the mid-1790's Lee traveled to Europe where he spent two and a half years transacting mercantile business. Upon his return he sought with success a consular appointment at Bordeaux. There he remained with his family for the first decade of the nineteenth century and, since consuls (or "commercial agents," as Napoleon, First Consul of France, insisted they be desingated) received no salary and relatively small commissions, Lee gained a living as agent for the import-export house of Perrot and Lee. A brief visit to the United States in 1810 earned him a second post as acting secretary of legation to his close friend, Joel Barlow, newly-appointed minister to France. In a letter to his wife, who had remained in Bordeaux, Lee cautioned her not to mention this new position because "according to the constitution of the United States a man cannot hold two offices. . . . I shall do the business and have the emoluments without the character publicly" (p. 135).

Barlow's death in 1813 forced Lee to concentrate on his duties at Bordeaux, where he was primarily engaged in aiding distressed American seamen and in disposing of prizes captured and brought into French ports by American privateers. The occupation of Bordeaux in 1814 by the British, coupled with Lee's obvious sympathy for Napoleon, made his position there untenable. Returning to the United States in 1816, he at first rejected and then, mainly at his wife's urging, accepted a post as accountant in the War Department; shortly thereafter he was appointed

second auditor of the Treasury, filling that office for the next twelve years. Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency in that pre-Civil Service era ended Lee's public career, but he was able to live his last years in relative comfort, thanks to a second marriage, in 1830, to a wealthy Boston widow.

Although the subtitle might lead one to expect to find within these covers selected diary entries for approximately the first half of the nineteenth century, perhaps interspersed with letters which fill in gaps or amplify diary notations, the diary selections record only Lee's initial journey to Europe and the only one in which he acted in a wholly private capacity. Most of the entries are of a purely touristic nature, describing among other things several visits to the theatre. In later years Lee was to declare his hostility towards this form of entertainment (p. 62), perhaps a result of his dislike of the costumes worn by some of the actresses and described in detail by him during that first trip (p. 13).

The book itself is divided into eight chapters, arranged in chronological order with a knowledgeable introduction to each by the editor. The diary comprises only the first chapter, occupying about one-fifth of the work. The remaining four-fifths (or seven chapters) are reserved for letters written by Lee between 1802 and 1837. Writing mostly to his wife in the early years and then progressively more and more to his daughter Susan and her younger sister Mary, Lee concerned himself mainly with personal and social matters. (The title of one chapter is "Gossip from Paris.") He enjoyed buying clothes for his wife and children (in addition to Susan and Mary, Lee had two sons, William Barlow Lee and Thomas Jefferson Lee); he was continually assuaging his wife's concern about their lack of wealth ("You fret too much" [p. 115]); during her formative years he kept reminding his elder daughter of the importance of correct posture (see especially p. 93).

Very little official correspondence is included. The only strong concentration is in that section which describes the last few years of the Napoleonic era and the difficulties of being an "American in Bordeaux" during that hectic period. Upon Lee's return to the United States in 1816, his correspondence is heavily weighted in three years: 1822 (the year his first wife died), 1824 (the year preceding his daughter Mary's marriage to Baron de Maltitz, a member of the Russian legation), and 1834 (the year in which his second wife died). While many of his letters bear on these subjects, much of Washington affairs as seen and heard by an interested though not always perceptive observer manages to creep in.

The editing is solid but the proportion is occasionally disconcerting; compare, for example, the heavily-annotated mention of Mayor Weightman (p. 289-290) with the rather curious note on Charles Desnouettes (p. 290) which nowhere indicates if Lee had ever published his sketch on the gentlemen which he said he was writing and to which this footnote refers (p. 198). A chronology has been included, valuable only because it has a few references to Lee's life which cannot be discovered in the text. The index is not the most useful one ever prepared.

LEONARD C. FABER

Massachusetts Historical Society

A Yankee's Odyssey, The Life of Joel Barlow. By JAMES WOODRESS. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. 347. $5.95.

This is a well-written and absorbing biography of a poet and politician who was one of the interesting company of American business men whose activities between the American Revolution and the War of 1812 led them to spend much of their time in Europe. Little is known about most of them, but Joel Barlow has long since occupied a place in the American history of this period. His poetry, except for one long ode to the *Hasty Pudding,* is mediocre, and his business ventures were not distinguished either by their ethics or their success. His reputation comes rather from his colorful mission to Algiers to pay off the Barbary Pirates, and from his last assignment in France which was cut short by his death. Barlow was in Europe from 1788 to 1805, and witnessed the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. He knew all the Americans living in Paris then, and many of the French leaders. He was one of a group of distinguished Americans, including Washington, Hamilton and Paine who were given French citizenship.

Barlow returned to France in 1811, this time as American Minister. He decided to seek out Napoleon, absent from Paris on the ill-starred Russian Campaign. He caught pneumonia and died in a little Polish village between Warsaw and Cracow.

The author has found and used an impressive collection of detail which he has kept from overshadowing the story by means of skilful writing. It makes excellent reading. The period in which Barlow lived was filled with dramatic events which have become an important part of history on both sides of the Atlantic. Some of these events still present problems and mysteries for the historian of today, who will be grateful for the new light provided in this book. The light would be clearer and more easily directed if the footnotes were easier to use. Actually, there are not footnotes, for there is nothing in the text to indicate their presence at the end of the book, collected by chapters, but very difficult to identify, since they are not numbered. There is a good index and an interesting series of illustrations. In the case of one of these, the portrait of Mrs. Barlow by Charles de Villette, there is evidence of occasional failure to check sources. Although Madame de Villette, mother of Charles, is properly spoken of as a Marquise elsewhere in the book, she is incorrectly labelled a Countess in the caption of the portrait. Her son, born in 1792, would scarcely have been competent to do the portrait, as the caption suggests he did " between 1801 and 1804." On the other hand, the political and diplomatic details are carefully documented, which makes them especially valuable to the scholar. It is seldom that such a scholarly book is presented in a form so attractive to the general reader.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN

Frederick, Maryland

Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710-1838. By J. HARRY BENNETT, JR. (University of California Publications in History, Volume 62). University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958. xii, 166 pp. $3.50.

When Christopher Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands (1699-1703) died in April, 1710, he left two plantations on the island of Barbados to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. According to his will, the Society was to maintain the plantations with three hundred slaves and establish a school to train missionaries in order to convert the West Indian slaves to Christianity. The Society accepted the bequest, and this book is a study of slavery on its estate.

The first chapter summarizes the history of Codrington College and the Plantations from 1710 to 1838. The estate was operated by a local committee, a manager and a town agent until 1813 when the Society placed the plantations in charge of a single factor. Codrington College did not open until 1745 and did not accomplish its purpose until 1830 when a seminary was established which soon had graduates serving the emancipated Negroes in the British West Indies.

The remainder of the book analyzes the labor system and the development of an enlightened policy toward the Codrington slaves. In the eighteenth century the Society's slaves were treated like those of other Barbadian planters except that they were taught by catechists sent by the Society to convert them to Christianity. The sugar plantation work was hard. Children began gathering fodder for the livestock when they were seven or eight years old. Discipline was strict and brutal, and, as a rule, the Codrington Negroes had to provide their own shelter. They also received the standard Barbados ration of a pint of corn a day and a pound of fish a week until 1760 when the amount of corn was doubled.

The high loss of slaves in the West Indian plantation economy made the maintenance of a labor force at full strength a severe problem. To maintain the labor supply on the Codrington estate, the policy of buying new slaves was tried first. After purchasing about 450 Negroes between 1712 and 1761, the slave population (190) was ⅓ less than what it was in 1712 (292) when the Society took over the plantations. From the records of the Society, the author shows what happened with harsh treatment and bad living conditions. There were six deaths to every birth at Codrington in the years from 1712 to 1748, and a 50% loss in the first five years of infancy according to statistics for the years 1743 to 1748.

When the purchase of new Africans failed to balance the slave losses, other expedients were tried to keep up strength or maintain production, including hiring slave gangs, reducing crop production, concentrating the slaves in the field gangs, and purchasing seasoned slaves. They were either too expensive or the slave losses did not diminish enough to solve the problem, and after 1767 no more slaves were purchased or hired by the Society. There was a change in the thinking of its members concerning the treatment of its slaves.

Amelioration came, the author finds, as a result of the severe slave losses and the failure of the Society's efforts to convert its Negroes. The missionary corporation maintained that slavery and Christianity were compatible, but when its converts by oral instruction were criticized as nominal Christians only, the Society realized that its slaves must be allowed some degree of civilization if they were to profit from the Christian teachings.

Financial stress prevented anything more than token changes being made in the treatment of the slaves until after 1793. To make them model Christians, the Society improved their environment. Better housing, more garden space and better medical care were provided. Field work was reduced by using the plow for planting and by planting less area with more productive types of cane. Two white women were hired in 1797 to teach the young reading and the principles of Religion. As a result the population increased from 266 in 1763 to 355 in 1823. Amelioration was a success; it reversed the trend of declining population and cost no more than the purchasing of new slaves had in the period from 1712 to 1761.

While the Society pioneered in relieving the slaves' condition on Barbados, it refused to agree to gradual emancipation until the attacks of the abolitionists in England forced it to do so. It sided with the planters, hoping to win them over to Negro Christianity until 1830 when it tentatively adopted a plan for emancipation. In 1834 the Society began an allotment system whereby each slave family was given a cottage and plot of land on which they were to provide for their own subsistence and pay rent in the form of labor to the plantation. Full freedom for the Codrington Negroes came on May 30, 1838, two months before it was granted by the Barbadian assembly. The Codrington system of " 'located laborers' " was used on the island until 1937 when it was abolished as semi-feudal, but the Society was recognized at the time as a pioneer in the work of emancipation.

The author has written a scholarly monograph, filling the need for a detailed study of West Indian plantation operations. The correspondence between the Society and its agents on Barbados lasted without interruption until the Negroes were fully emancipated, and is preserved today in the London archives of the corporation. Among the manuscripts are crop lists, inventories of slaves and livestock, account books, and the minutes of the Codrington attorneys, all of which have been used to make a thorough study. The important statistics of the labor system are presented in table form. There is no bibliography, but a list of manuscript sources and chapter notes follow the text. The book is well designed except for the inconvenient location of the footnotes, and the quality of printing equals that of the scholar's work.

WILLIAM L. MCDOWELL, JR.

S. C. Archives Department

Ben Butler: The South Called Him Beast. By HANS L. TREFOUSSE. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1957. 365 pp. $5.

An ugly, almost disfigured man, a lawyer who could curse the judge on the bench, a politician who could accuse an opponent of having a venereal disease, and who could change his stand on leading issues almost overnight, trimming his sails to catch whatever political wind might blow, making a principle of expediency—Benjamin F. Butler was all this and more, as Mr. Trefousse's biography clearly shows. In many ways, unfortunately, Butler typified the kind of politician that came along in the mid-nineteenth century and dominated the national scene after the Civil War.

The author traces Butler's career from the rather lean pre-war years when he was an administration Democrat in Republican Massachusetts, through the Civil War, when General Butler changed from a leading Radical Republican in the '60s and '70s and became a part of such lost causes as the Greenback movement. Judging from the facts of Butler's career, there can be little doubt that, although he may have retained some shreds of class-conscious Jacksonian idealism, he was a man without principles. Before the Civil War, when he was hoping for favors from the Democrats, he was anti-Negro; after the war he was a passionate protagonist of the freedmen—but also now anti-Chinese! As a Radical he waved the bloody shirt, and a few years later, while making eyes at the Democrats, he favored pensions for Confederate soldiers. In the Democratic convention of 1860 he voted over 50 times for Jefferson Davis as the party's presidential nominee, yet within a year he was a Radical. Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. Butler was for Butler first, Butler last, and Butler all the time.

Mr. Trefousse devotes approximately forty per cent of his book to Butler's Civil War activities, but adds little that is new. Was Butler a crook? Did he engage in contraband trade? The author apparently encountered nothing more than the usual suspicions and accusations. It is difficult to believe that a more thorough examination of relevant manuscript collections would not have turned up something more definite. For example, in the Nathaniel P. Banks Papers there is a letter to Banks from C. A. Weed and A. J. Butler (the general's brother) offering Banks $100,000 if he would extend to them the same commercial privileges they had enjoyed while Butler was in command at New Orleans. And in the Smith-Brady investigation of affairs at New Orleans there is testimony concerning contraband trade with the Confederates—and even some information about the famous silverware. While these little mysteries are not of supreme importance, it is still disappointing that they have not been cleared up. So far as Butler's over-all administration of New Orleans is concerned, Mr. Trefousse makes it clear that the general kept the city clean and maintained order, although sometimes acting in a capricious and unjust manner.

After his removal from command in New Orleans, Butler was eventually assigned to the Virginia theatre of operations, where his lack of military

success is adequately described by the author. This assignment once again illustrated the importance President Lincoln attached to Butler's political friendship. After the war Butler played a prominent part in the trial of Andrew Johnson, and later not only became reconciled with Grant (who had spoken the plain truth about Butler's military fiascos), but was one of the general's trusted allies. After Grant's second term, however, Butler drifted out of the Republican party, and, with the exception of a single term as governor of Massachusetts, his political fortunes steadily declined. He died early in 1893, probably of pneumonia.

Mr. Trefousse has written what is essentially a political biography, and for the most part has told his story in a clear and straightforward way. But one gets the impression while reading the book that there are important things going on which have not been brought to light. Perhaps one reason for this is the author's too-heavy reliance on the Butler Papers. Some thirty-five manuscript sources are listed in the bibliography, but about three-fourths of the manuscript citations in the footnotes refer to the Butler Papers. Also, the very rich Robert Todd Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress was evidently not consulted. Before a complete picture of Butler's career can be constructed, a more thorough search of available manuscript sources must be made.

A less serious shortcoming is the author's failure to bring Butler to life; perhaps some choice quotations from Butler's extensive speeches and writings would have made his personality emerge more clearly. There are also some minor errors of fact. Richmond is about 100 miles from Washington, not 150, and the same thing is true of the distances by river from Hampton Roads to Bermuda Hundred (pp. 77, 148). No Union prisoners were at Andersonville in the fall of 1863; the first arrived in February 1864 (pp. 140-41); and Pierre Soulé was hardly an "arch-secessionist" (p. 117).

On the whole, however, this should prove to be a useful book, and a help to further research in the period. But the definitive biography of this rascal Butler has yet to be written.

LUDWELL H. JOHNSON, III

College of William and Mary

The Confederate Reader. Edited by RICHARD B. HARWELL. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957. xxvi, 389 pp. $7.50. *The Union Reader.* Edited by RICHARD B. HARWELL. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958. xxii, 362 pp. $7.50.

Richard B. Harwell, a rather well known student and writer about the great American Civil War, claims that his two recent anthologies are "as the South saw the war" and "as the North saw the war." Because these are edited anthologies it might be better to say that they present views from specific Yankee or Rebel vantagepoints. No one will or should feel that now he has an understanding of either side, after reading these two

books, for as is the case with all anthologies, there is only the whetting of the interest or else the adding to some knowledge already acquired. Although previous study of the Civil War will add to a reader's enjoyment of these two books, even the novice in the overwhelming Civil War cult should find both books stimulating, educational, and down right enjoyable.

Various aspects of life on both the Union and Confederate sides are presented in a sort of chronological arrangement. The selections included in the two books are too numerous to mention in detail—56 in *The Confederate Reader* and 40 in *The Union Reader*. Naturally an editor who undertakes to select a mere handful of material from the tons of writings available, leaves himself open to varied criticism. The editor here has done a nice job in selecting some little known items as well as those more familiar to the average reader. Most of the selections are based on eye-witness accounts—actual participants describe the events. And to give a degree of balance to both books, there are the military and civilian sides, writings of general and private, male and female, Jew and gentile, minister, editor, and politician. Although throughout both books, Mr. Harwell gives very brief and interesting introductions to the various chapters, he lets the Yankees and the Rebels speak for themselves.

Many readers will be surprised to learn that the West did know about the Civil War, and also took an active part, e. g., Colorado Volunteers. Marylanders should find the following selections of special interest: Franklin Buchanan's official account of the Battle of Hampton Roads; The Invasion of Maryland; The *Alabama Versus* the *Hatteras* (all in *The Confederate Reader*); Address to the People of Maryland by the General Assembly; Maryland Invaded, a report of Lewis H. Steiner, M. D.; The *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge*; The Peace Conference and the role played by Francis P. Blair of Maryland (all in *The Union Reader*).

Mr. Harwell's "*Readers*" should be considered valuable additions to the rapidly growing Civil War libraries, and even the amateur historian will find that either or both books give several hours of pleasant reading.

WILLIAM H. WROTEN, JR.

State Teachers College
Salisbury, Md.

The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop. By EDMUND MORGAN. [*The Library of American Biography*, OSCAR HANDLIN, ed.]. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1958. 224. $3.50.

Seventeenth century American Puritanism is fascinating. More than simply a religion, it represents one of the great social, economic, and political forces shaping the colonies, and consequently, the future republic. John Winthrop, the guiding light of early New England Puritanism, is therefore a fit subject for biography—indeed biographies. This one, Professor Morgan's story, is an explanation of the Puritan, Winthrop,

with his eyes heavenward but his feet earthbound; his hope and desire for a new Zion constantly disrupted by problems of government and order, the material and spiritual world, and the disconcertion of heresy and imperial interference. These constitute the Puritan dilemma.

Morgan makes a conscious effort to change the interpretation of Winthrop; to turn back the almost rancorous views of J. T. Adams and V. L. Parrington. It is perhaps a laudable and worth-while effort, but one wonders if this series—*The Library of American Biography*—is the proper place for it. The series is obviously geared to the general reader and for the consumption of undergraduate collegiates, for the volumes are short and without notation except for an essay on sources.

RICHARD WALSH

Georgetown University

The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789-1801. By NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.) Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957. vii, 279 pp. $6.

The study of early American parties, specifically colonial, revolutionary, and those of the first years of the republic, has been badly confused by pat definitions of what constitutes "party." Cunningham's fine contribution in *The Jeffersonian Republicans* is his "following contemporary usage in describing political devices and practices." To contemporaries "interest" was party. The author describes the political techniques of one of the two major "interests," the Jeffersonian Republicans, in its first and most important decade of development. From inchoate and confused beginnings in 1789, it had become a national entity and powerful organ for public usage by 1800.

RICHARD WALSH

Georgetown University

Bewitching Betsy Bonaparte. By ALICE CURTIS DESMOND. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1958. x, 306 pp. $3.50.

There is a fresh wave of sighs in Baltimore, across Maryland, and throughout the land. The story of a Baltimore beauty and her tragic love has been told in a new book just published for younger adults. Alice Desmond, whose previous books include biographies of Martha Washington, Dolley Madison, and Elizabeth Hamilton, selected Betsy Patterson Bonaparte as her current heroine.

The Elizabeth Patterson saga is well known to many readers of this

Magazine. She was the daughter of a prominent Baltimore merchant and a staunch Presbyterian, William Patterson. Betsey and Jerome, the youngest brother of the great Napoleon, fell instantly in love when he visited America in 1803. Her father opposed the marriage but, when convinced that his daughter was determined, arranged a wedding officiated by Archbishop Carroll in the Baltimore cathedral.

For a few months the happiness of the couple was ecstatic. President Jefferson entertained them at the White House, and they were feted throughout the country. In 1805 they sailed secretly to Lisbon where Jerome left to go overland to Paris ostensibly to convince Napoleon that the marriage should be recognized. He never returned to her. For him there was the crown of the King of Westphalia and an eligible if rather dull marriage. For Betsy there was a son and years of waiting, hoping, dreaming first of a reunion, then a reconciliation, later a royal marriage for her son, finally a suitable European connection for her two grandsons. She was disappointed repeatedly in each fondly held hope for the remaining sixty-nine years of her life. Her son married an American girl. The final blow for Betsy came when her grandson, Charles J. Bonaparte, turned his back on a possible European career and said he was American. His distinguished career, capped by two cabinet posts, would perhaps—being American—have disappointed Betsy.

Betsy's fascination with the glitter of European royalty was life long. She did not remarry, though she certainly could have; she did not try to rebuild her life, though some may think she should have; she narrowed and diminished her life and vision, with no thought, apparently, of enlargement of view or effort. But it is now not ours to judge "bewitching Betsy" or the manner in which she lived her ninety-four years. Mrs. Desmond has told this American fairy tale in a fascinating manner that can be enjoyed by first readers and old hands alike.

FRED SHELLEY

Library of Congress

Liberty and Justice: A Historical Record of American Constitutional Development. Edited by JAMES M. SMITH and PAUL L. MURPHY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958. xxxvi, 564 pp. $6.95.

This useful work is indeed what its sub-title proclaims it to be: a historical record of American constitutional development. To display the record Messrs. Smith and Murphy present excerpts from nearly 300 documents ranging in date from 1606 to 1956. The earlier documents exhibit some of the sources of the American constitutional tradition. Those subsequent to 1789 show the impact of America's multiform growth upon her fundamental law. The leading Supreme Court decisions are here, but not alone; resolutions and statutes, speeches and newspaper commentaries, petitions and presidential messages, letters, pamphlets and

sermons speak to us in contemporaneous voice of the major political and economic issues upon which the Court was called to decide. This then is no skeleton of the law, but a fleshed record of constitutional adaptation to changing human needs. The book's 28 chapters are oriented both chronologically and topically. Each of them is introduced by incisive editorial stage-setting. Twelve of the chapters are devoted to the pre-Civil War period, eight to the years from 1865 to 1930, and the final eight to the quarter-century since then. The editors decision to devote nearly a third of the book to the past 25 years seems justified in view of the revolution which has so recently taken place in the areas of government-business relations and of civil liberties. The volume, in sum, makes not only an excellent companion to any good text in American history, but can be read for profit and pleasure by any citizen with a careful turn of mind.

STUART BRUCHEY

Michigan State University

NOTES AND QUERIES

The Francis Parkman Prize for 1959: The Society of American Historians, announces a cash award of $500, and an inscribed scroll to be awarded to an author in the field of American history or biography. Authors may be in academic or other activities such as journalism. A book submitted should, or may, deal with any aspect of the colonial or national history of what is now the United States. Colonial history would admit of a treatment of the English, French, or Spanish background if definitely connected with the colonies. Literary, religious, economic, political, scientific and technological, legal and constitutional history, and the history of foreign relations would fall within the field. Any book submitted will be judged on both its sound historical scholarship and literary style. No work which does not measure up to a high standard of historical scholarship will be considered for the Prize. The fourth annual Francis Parkman Prize will be awarded for a book published within the calendar year 1959.

For further information address: Rudolf A. Clemen, Executive Vice President, The Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton University Library, Princeton, N. J.

Ulster-Scott Historical Society: Information has been received of the existence of a research and historical society in Northern Ireland known as the Ulster-Scot Historical Society, of which His Grace The Duke of Abercorn is President and K. Darwin, Deputy Keeper of the Records of Northern Ireland, is Director. The Society is willing to undertake genealogical research in Northern Ireland and is particularly anxious to have its services brought to the attention of Americans who have ancestral roots in Ulster. The Society also hopes to publish material about Ulster-Scot historical topics (better known in America as Scots-Irish History) and would welcome correspondence with persons in the United States interested in this subject.

All letters should be addressed to Miss I. Embleton, Secretary, Ulster-Scot Historical Society, Law Courts Building, Chichester Street, Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Cox—Price: Information is wanted concerning the parents of James Cox, born July 19, 1784, Delaware, and of Sophia Price, born Jan. 25, 1796, Maryland. They were married in 1813, Ross Co., Ohio.

Emerson—Downey: Information also would be appreciated concerning Thomas Emerson (Emmerson, Emberson), born 1755, place unknown, and of his wife Mary Downey, date and place of birth unknown. They

were married Nov. 12, 1779, Washington Co., Maryland, reared a large family in Hampshire Co., Va., and moved to Pickaway Co., Ohio, about 1807.

Newell Cox,
Box 422, Perry Point, Md.

Colburn—Gould—Rogers: I am seeking information on Alexander Gould, Sr., an early Baltimore resident, and James L. Rogers, who was married to Gould's daughter, Elizabeth Susan Rogers, and was reported to have been related to Edgar Allan Poe. Also information is desired on Harvey (or Hervey) Colburn and his wife, Elizabeth Knight Colburn, parents of Rev. Edward A. Colburn.

Layton Rogers Colburn,
106 Heather Lane,
Delray Beach, Florida.

Gen. Joseph Wilkinson: I am interested in any information about Gen. Joseph Wilkinson, of Calvert County, Md., born 1758, died 1820, married to Barbara Mackall, also of Calvert County.

W. Emmet Wilkinson, Jr., M. D.
609 Cathedral Street, Baltimore 1.

Gustavus Hesselius: Any information is requested concerning the life or work of the Swedish-American painter Gustavus Hesselius (1682-1755). Address: Roland E. Fleischer, Art Department, University of Miami, Coral Gables 46, Florida.

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES BRANCH CLARK is a native of Howard County, Maryland. He has made several outstanding contributions to the study of the Civil War. He is author of *Politics in Maryland during the Civil War* and the important article in the *Md. Hist. Mag.*, "Recruitment of Union Troops in Maryland, 1861-1865," (June, 1958). He is professor of history at Monmouth College of New Jersey.

NATHANIEL C. HUGHES is a member of the history faculty at Webb School, Belt Buckle, Tennessee. He is chiefly a student of Civil War history but has been interested in the life of Francis Asbury out of which came the present article. Dr. Hughes received his M. A. and Ph. D. at the University of North Carolina.

FATHER ALFRED ISACSSON is a member of the Carmelite Order. He received his M. A. at St. Bonaventure University and is currently editor of the *Scapular Magazine.*

IN 1900—

when we reached the age of 21

John Hay, Secretary of State, announced the success of negotiations to continue the " open door " policy in China — *January 2.*

General Cronje, Commander of the Boer Army, surrendered unconditionally to Lord Roberts — *February 27.*

President McKinley signed the gold standard currency Act of Congress — *March 14.*

S. B. Dole was appointed Governor of the Territory of Hawaii — *May 4.*